

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOLUME XII

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The
American Historical Review

THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF THE TIME OF RICHARD II.

IN the history of the king's privy council the reign of Richard II. has generally been noted as a time of transition and change. By one writer it is asserted that the council was at that time first recognized as a separate institution,¹ by another that it then underwent a complete reorganization.² While these statements are overdrawn and must be modified, it is true that the council to a great degree then emerged from its former obscurity and came into a position of unusual prominence. There are two reasons why the period may be regarded as especially fruitful for a study of the council: the first, that beginning in the reign of Richard II. we have the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, a noted publication.³ This collection, while it is not to be understood as including the earliest of council records,⁴ is yet of the highest value for the information it contains. The second reason is that with the minority of the reigning king the council became a virtual board of regency and of necessity played a political part. It is by the controversies which therefore were waged in Parliament, when the organization, powers, and actions of the council were brought into question, that our knowledge of this body is made most complete.⁵

It is well known that at various times previously, most recently in the fiftieth year of Edward III., attempts had been made on the

¹ Dicey, *Privy Council*, p. 25.

² "The privy council, from the reign of Richard II. onwards, although it inherited and amplified the functions of the permanent council of Edward I., differed widely in its organisation." Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 274.

³ Edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, London, 1834-1837.

⁴ This phase of the council's history was the subject of a former article, "Early Records of the King's Council", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, October, 1905 (X. 1-15).

⁵ The rolls of Parliament, which have heretofore contained little, now furnish an abundance of material concerning the council.

part of Parliament in one way or another to control the king's council, but never before had the efforts been made with so great persistency and effect. Not only under Richard II. but also to some extent during the succeeding reigns of Henry IV. and of Henry VI. was the same policy asserted. So that those years extending from the attempt of the Good Parliament to reform the council of Edward III. in 1376 until 1437, the close of the later king's minority, may be marked as a special period in the history of the council, a period when it was most under Parliamentary pressure. The powers of Parliament were exercised mainly in three ways: (1) by appointments and removals, (2) by regulative legislation, and (3) by judicial prosecutions. It will be seen that its actions taken together reveal a fairly consistent plan or policy as to what the council should be. What this policy was and to what extent it was effective may now be explained.

1. In the first place the councils of these years were frequently said to have been "named", "elected", or "ordained" in Parliament. How was the choice and sanction of Parliament actually made? Usually there was a petition of the commons that a suitable council be chosen and that they should be informed of the names of its members. While the commons might state some of the qualifications of councillors, the actual choice was made by the prelates and lords, or by the king himself. Thus in the fiftieth year of Edward III. the commons petitioned that a new council of lords, prelates, and others be appointed, and the duke of Lancaster afterward read the names before them.¹ The first council of Richard, named July 17, 1377, was chosen by the king and magnates, with the special connivance, we are told, of John of Gaunt, who succeeded in placing therein Lord Latimer and others of his friends.² When Parliament met in October, this council was required to be reconstituted at the instance of the commons, who petitioned that the councillors be elected by the lords in Parliament, and for the special purpose of excluding Lord Latimer passed a resolution that none who had been removed from the council in the time of Edward III. be restored.³ A proposal that the new councillors and officers receive their charges in the presence of the commons was not acted upon, for they were sworn in the presence of the lords.⁴ Again, in the second year at the Parliament of Gloucester the commons

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II. 322.

² Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 1863-1864), I. 339-340.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 14, 16. Sir Richard de Stafford, however, who was equally disqualified by the resolution, was permitted to remain.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 14.

asked to know the names of those who were to be the great officers and councillors of the king, and it was answered that they should be so informed.¹ But as the Parliament ended abruptly, the names were not read, nor were they placed upon the Parliament roll. For this omission apologies were made to the commons at their next meeting.² The council nevertheless was said to have been "chosen with the assent of the prelates and magnates at the parliament of Gloucester". In other years when Parliamentary councils were chosen, the procedure was not far different except as the king himself took a larger part.

2. As regards the composition of the council, it was the intention of Parliament that it should be a smaller and more definable body than heretofore. In the reign of Edward III. its membership had extended to a large number; it included several honorary members, minor officials, clerks, and even foreigners, while in practice it fell largely into the hands of royal favorites, to the great disgust of the nobles. In combating this tendency the commons supported the nobles, as in the Good Parliament of 1376, when they petitioned that "the council be enforced with the presence of lords, prelates, and others to the number of ten or twelve".³ In the reign of Richard II. the number desired ranged from twelve to fifteen. This number included as *ex officio* members at least three great officers, namely, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the keeper of the privy seal. Although there was once a suggestion that the steward of the royal household be added,⁴ and once we are told that the chief chamberlain was likewise a member,⁵ it was not until the next reign that the five officers were regularly included. As to the personnel, the men now preferred were of Parliamentary rank, with a strong preponderance in favor of the lords. Thus the council named in the fiftieth year of Edward III. included three bishops, three earls, and three lords, besides the three officers.⁶ Generally with a view to balancing the estates, there was a representation also of knights if not of commoners. The first council of Richard was composed of two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights,⁷ which was changed in the same year to consist of three bishops, two earls, two bannerets, and two knights, besides the officers.⁸ In the

¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

² *Ibid.*, 55.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 322. In the same year twelve cushions were provided in the council chamber for the lords there to consult. Issue Roll (Pells), 50 Ed. III., Mich., m. 22.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 221.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁶ *Chronicon Angliæ* (Rolls Series, 1874), lxviii.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 386; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1 Ric. II., 19; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 463.

⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 6; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 465.

second year there were similarly chosen two bishops, two earls, two bannerets, and two knights.¹ In the tenth year, which is the next time that a complete list is certain, appointments were made of two archbishops, two bishops, an abbot, two dukes, an earl, a baron, and two knights.² In the Parliamentary councils, therefore, there was a signal elimination of the minor men, such as are in considerable numbers found attached to the council in the previous period.

Another question of membership determined at this time was in regard to the barons of the exchequer, the justices of either bench, and the serjeants-at-law. As to their standing in the council, heretofore it is uncertain whether they are to be counted as *ex officio* members or not. But in the first year of Richard II. a petition of the commons asked that Magna Charta be confirmed, and that if any point be obscure it should be declared "by those who shall be ordained to be of the continual council, with the advice of all the justices and serjeants and other such men, whom they shall see fit to summon".³ Henceforth the relation to the council of these men as advisors or assessors, who were summoned when points of law were in question, is sufficiently clear.⁴

3. It was furthermore the evident plan of Parliament that the councillors should be appointed annually and with constant change. This plan Parliament was persistent enough to carry out continuously for the first three years. In the instance of the first council, which was inaugurated July 17, 1377, and which was reconstituted in the following October, the term of service was until October 30 of the second year, as is shown by the wage accounts of one of the members.⁵ On the election of this council it was resolved that none should be re-eligible for two years.⁶ This requirement was observed, for in the second year at Gloucester an entirely different group was selected. Their tenure was from November 26 of the second year until December 3 of the third year.⁷ Dissatisfied with the work of this body, the commons then demanded that the king dismiss the lords of the council without filling their places.⁸ At all events, for several years the plan of annual elections in Parliament was permitted to lapse. From 1379 until 1386, then, while

¹ *Infra*, in connection with the subject of wages.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., 244. ³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 15.

⁴ Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 80, 191; III. 151, 313, etc. They might be considered as belonging to the *consilium ordinarium*, but the distinction between the privy council and the ordinary council was not as yet made.

⁵ The accounts of Hugh de Segrave, Accounts Exchequer, K. R. 96/14.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 6.

⁷ See wage list, *infra*.

⁸ The commons requested that the king retain for his council only the five great officers, then to be chosen, declaring that at his accession he had no other councillors. *Rot. Parl.*, III. 73.

the attention of Parliament was drawn to other things, the council was left as in other times, with the king as a self-controlling body. Even so early as this the king's preference for the counsel of courtiers rather than of his nobles was unfavorably observed.¹ Again in the tenth year, stirred to action by the abuses of the government, Parliament confirmed the selection of a body "to be of his great and continual council", with a commission to reform and manage the government throughout.² In their petition the commons asked that this council last for a year and until the next ensuing Parliament, but the king consented that it should last for a year only.³ How this council was not permitted fairly to begin its term, but found itself thwarted and set aside by the king is too well known to repeat. In 1388 after the victory of the lords appellant one more attempt was made to name a council in Parliament;⁴ but its career also was interrupted when on May 3, 1389, the king, entering the council chamber, declared himself of age and removed certain of the councillors.⁵ After this no attempt was made again in this reign to appoint a council in Parliament. It was therefore a bold exaggeration when at the time of Richard's deposition in 1399 it was stated to have been a policy that the officers, justices, and others of the king's council should be chosen each year, and that this policy the king had violated.⁶

4. It was another feature of the Parliamentary scheme that the councillors be regularly paid for their services. Whereas previously men of the council had received wages or annuities only in individual cases and as signs of royal favor, it was now the intention that all should be paid, great men as well as small, in proportion to their rank and services. For the payment of councillors there were two methods, the one by yearly salaries, the other by daily wages. It was usual for the greater men to be paid salaries, while men of lower rank received daily wages. The granting of life annuities, which was a characteristic practice of Edward III., was for the present quite suspended. How systematically councillors now were paid is shown by the records of the exchequer. Thus in the first year they received money as follows:

¹ In 1384 one complains of the king consulting, not peers or great men of the realm, but his accustomed councillors, namely, two clerks of the chapel. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II. 113.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., 244; *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 40; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 499.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁵ Walsingham, *op. cit.*, II. 181.

⁶ "Statutum erat, quod in singulis annis Officiarii Regis, cum Justiciariis, et aliis de Consilio Regis . . . eligantur et nominarentur Domino Regi." *Rot. Parl.*, III. 419.

The bishop of Carlisle ¹	400 m.
The bishop of London ²	200 l.
The earl of March ³	200 l.
Lord Latimer (removed after 3 months) ⁴	40 l.
Lord Cobham (removed after 3 months) ⁵	40 l.
Richard de Stafford, banneret ⁶	200 m.
Roger de Beauchamp, banneret (removed) ⁷	40 m.
Henry Lescrope, knight ⁸	200 m.
Hugh de Seagrave, knight, ⁹ at 6 s. 8 d. a day....	113 l. 6 s. 8 d.

Of the men appointed in the second year at the Parliament of Gloucester, little would be known but for the wage accounts of its members. As their names do not appear upon the Parliament roll, they can be ascertained only from the exchequer statement of their wages. This time the experiment was tried of making all payments by daily wages instead of by salaries, bishops and earls receiving two marks a day, bannerets one mark, and knights one-half mark. The list so far as the accounts show is as follows:¹⁰

	Rate of Wages.	Days of Service.	Amounts Received.
The bishop of Winchester.....	2 m.	276	368 l.
The bishop of Bath.....	2 m.	278	370 l. 13s. 4d.
The earl of Arundel.....	2 m.	155	206 l. 13s. 4d.
The earl of Suffolk.....	2 m.	171	228 l.
Robert de Hales, Prior of the Hospital of St. Johns Jerusalem, banneret.....	1 m.	238	158 l. 13s. 4d.
Roger de Beauchamp, banneret.....	1 m.	277	184 l. 13s. 4d.
Alvredo de Vecr, knight.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ m.	113	37 l. 13s. 4d.
Robert Rous, knight.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ m.	80	27 l.

This list is noteworthy as showing the only instance in which the system of wages by the day was applied to all of the council. It may be observed that by fairly regular attendance the men earned more in this way than they would by yearly salaries. This method was soon discarded entirely. That the regular payment of salaries and wages to councillors was distinctly a matter of Parliamentary rather than of royal policy is further shown in the ordinances for the governance of the council which were framed in 1390. It was then enjoined that lords of the council should have reward according to their work and expenses, and that bachelors should

¹ Issue Roll, 1 Ric. II., Pasch., Aug. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 24.

² *Ibid.* (Pells), Easter, m. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 22.

³ *Ibid.* (Devon), p. 207.

⁷ *Ibid.*, m. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Pells), Mich., m. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Pasch., Aug. 5.

⁹ Accounts Exchequer, K. R., 96/14.

¹⁰ Issue Rolls, 3 Ric. II., *passim*. There may of course have been others whose wages are not recorded.

have reasonable wages for their time.¹ Again, a petition of the commons in 1406 expresses it, that the councillors be "reasonably guerdoned for their labor".² Certain it is from the rolls of the exchequer that the payment of councillors was never so consistently carried out as in the years of the Parliamentary councils.³

5. Still another concern of Parliament was that the councillors approved by it remain unchanged and unsuperseded. This proved to be a difficult matter to control, for once Parliament had adjourned there was nothing to prevent the king's changing or overthrowing the council elected. The commons, indeed, more than once recognized that removals should be made for cause, and in the first year allowed that any vacancies which might occur between Parliaments be filled by the king and council.⁴ At the same time, with some inconsistency, they passed a resolution that the estate and power of the councillors were not repealable except by Parliament.⁵ But with more care in the tenth year, when the noted reform council was appointed, the utmost precautions were taken to prevent its being set aside. It was resolved by the commons that none should be associated with or assigned to the council other than the lords named, and that if in any way the lords were prevented from carrying out their powers, the validity of all grants should cease.⁶ A further clause was put into the statute that no person privily or apertly should give to the king counsel to repeal the power thus given, under penalty.⁷ Yet it is familiar history that all efforts on the part of this council to govern⁸ were thwarted by the king and his "false counsellors".⁹ The status of these false or evil counsellors, as they are called, might be considered doubtful, did it not appear that one of them certainly, if not the others, was formally retained and sworn a member of the council.¹⁰ How they superseded the

¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 18 b.

² *Rot. Parl.*, III. 577.

³ With the subject of councillors' fees and wages in a more general way I have dealt in "Antiquities of the King's Council", *English Historical Review*, January, 1906 (XXI. 1-20).

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 333; III. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6, 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 221; Close Roll, 10 Ric. II., m. 22.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 221; *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 42.

⁸ Evidences of their efforts to govern are seen in a series of articles stated in the manner of a council agenda (Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 3), and in allusions to certain letters of the great seal issued by them (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 376, 381).

⁹ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 501.

¹⁰ In the impeachments of the traitors in 1387, it was said, "furent le dit John Blake estre retenu du Counseill le Roi . . . Et sur ce il jura de conseiller en mesme le Purpos, et le celer." The fact Blake himself admitted, but claimed that the king had a right so to retain him (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 240).

men named in the Parliamentary commission is declared in the appeals of treason made against them in the following year: that they did not suffer the good councillors to approach or speak with the king except in their presence; that they caused the king to remove himself to distant parts so that the lords appointed could not counsel him; that they even procured an opinion of certain judges that the Parliamentary commission was unlawful.¹ After the impeachments and condemnation of the traitors in 1388, to safeguard the next council it was enacted with severe penalties that no person of whatsoever estate or condition, except those assigned and ordained in the present Parliament, should interfere with the government in any way, unless it be by order of the continual council and with the assent of the king.² The lords of the council were made to swear not to suffer any act of that Parliament to be annulled, reversed, or repealed. Yet this council too was summarily changed on the king's declaring himself of age. In 1399, with these events remembered, it was Richard himself who was accused of refusing to be guided by his duly chosen councillors and of selecting men according to his own pleasure.³

6. The personal conduct of councillors also became at this time a matter of supervision in Parliament. That councillors should not have personal interests in suits before the courts was an old and recurring subject of legislation.⁴ In the first year of Richard II. it was once again declared that no councillor should sustain by maintenance any quarrel in the country or elsewhere, under penalty.⁵ Likewise earlier acts against bribery were renewed with increased stringency. In the fiftieth year of Edward III. it was declared that whoever of the council be found taking a bribe should render the party from whom it was received double and the king six times the amount.⁶ In the first year of Richard II. with great particularity it was ordained that no councillor should receive any gift of escheat, wardship, marriage, rent, or other thing, except by consent of all the council or the greater part of them; and that none should take anything from any party by promise or otherwise, except what was to eat and drink of small value, under the same penalty as before.⁷ That councillors did use the opportunities of their positions for private gain is shown in the several cases of Parliamentary impeachment that were held. In 1376 Lord Latimer, at the time that he was chamberlain and a member of the privy council, was accused

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 232.

² *Ibid.*, 246.

³ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 95, 256; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 10, 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 6; *Nicolas, Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 86.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 6.

of procuring patents and writs licensing the carriage of merchandise contrary to the ordinance to other ports than to the staple of Calais.¹ He was declared removed from all his offices and from the privy council for all time, although in the next year he was restored.² In the same peculations Richard Lyons was accused of being in collusion with certain of the privy council to their own profit.³ In the impeachment of Lord John de Neville in the same year it was charged that while he was an officer and member of the council he purchased tallies of assignment made by the king to various parties to whom he was debtor, and then received full payment and allowance for them at the exchequer.⁴ In 1380 Ralph de Ferrers, a knight of the council, was held under suspicion, when certain treasonable letters were traced to him revealing secrets of the government.⁵ He was mainperned before Parliament. In 1386 one of the charges against the earl of Suffolk was that while sworn of the council he had accepted or purchased great estates of the king below their value,⁶ an act which would be a direct violation of the councillor's oath. The accusation was not denied, but it was decided by the king and lords that, as his guilt was shared by others of the council, the earl should not be condemned alone. It may be needless to say that the exhibition of private interests and corrupt practices in the council is not peculiar to this time.

7. In the Parliamentary legislation of the period may be found many attempts to regulate the council in its actions, the most comprehensive being the ordinances of 1390 "for the governance of the council". While some of these are of mere temporary significance, others are of value as suggesting modes of council procedure. Of some interest in the latter way are the statements made at various times, that the council meet as early as eight or nine in the morning;⁷ that six or four members be continually in residence and be counted a quorum;⁸ that in cases of disagreement the majority decide;⁹ that business of the king should have precedence of all other matters;¹⁰ that all matters requiring the consent of the king should be reported to him;¹¹ that to carry messages between the council and the king there be two or three authorized reporters;¹² that answer should be given to matters first brought to the council

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 325.

² *Ibid.*, 372.

³ *Ibid.*, 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 6; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., 244.

⁶ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 a.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322; Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 a.

⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322; Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 85.

⁵ Walsingham, *op. cit.*, I. 447.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 219.

⁷ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 a.

⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322.

before proceeding to other business.¹ Of greater significance in the development of the council were the persistent efforts that were made to define its power against the common law. The tendency of the council to encroach upon the sphere of the common-law courts, to try cases between suitors, to summon parties by writs of privy seal, was ever a subject of grievance and petition. It was already law that no freeman should be compelled to answer for his freehold before the council.² In the first year of Richard II. it was conceded that no suits between parties should be ended before the council.³ To most of the petitions evasive answers were given.⁴ So that all that was accomplished further is contained in one of the ordinances of 1390, that business touching the common law which came before the council should be sent to be determined before the justices. This did not suffice, for the complaints and petitions still vainly continued.⁶

8. It remains to test the effectiveness of the Parliamentary programme by the events of the mature years of Richard after 1389, when his personal government fairly began. For a while in certain ways the council still bears the imprint of the influence of the previous régime. This influence is seen for a time among the older members, for in the thirteenth year as many as eight of them had been in one or another of the previous councils, while four were lords appellant.⁷ The fear of impeachment is expressed when the council refused and could not be persuaded to accede to a request of the king, lest in the first Parliament it should be imputed to them that they had burdened the kingdom with a larger sum of money than was necessary or honest.⁸ Their responsibility to Parliament was again acknowledged when the chancellor, treasurer, and councillors offered to resign their places, that charges might be brought against them.⁹ Again, the ordinances of 1390 for the governance of the council, whether they were passed by Parliament or not, were evidently forced upon the king by the Parliamentary party. The hand of the Gloucester faction in particular is seen in the requirement that no gift or grant to the decrease of the king's profit be made without the advice of the council and the consent in particular of the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester and the chancellor, or two of them.¹⁰

On the other hand, a quite contrary influence in the manage-

¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 b.

² *Rot. Parl.*, II. 228; *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 321.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, 267.

⁶ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 b.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 323, 446.

¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I., *passim*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 c, 17.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 258.

¹⁰ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 b.

ment of the council is seen in the policy of the king, which tended to gain ground. This royal policy shows a reversion in some ways to the usages of Edward III. which Parliament had sought to counteract. For one thing, to offset the power of the older nobles the king added many new men, so that the membership, which had been limited to twelve or fifteen, immediately became larger. At one meeting of the thirteenth year there were twenty-one present,¹ while during the year as many as thirty-four councillors may be counted. Of these a larger proportion than before were bannerets and knights, whose usefulness was plainly enhanced. On one occasion a series of ordinances was passed by the king in the presence of a council of thirteen, seven of whom were of knightly rank.² At another time may be noted the presence of a clerk of the rolls, and again that of a baron of the exchequer. It was upon these men of minor estate that the royal policy in hostility to the nobles came more and more to depend. In the matter of salaries and wages, in distinction from the policy of Parliament and in contravention of the ordinances of 1390, which required the equitable payment of all members, stands the king's policy of making payments only in special cases, and with greater generosity to the men of lower rank. To some of these, reviving a practice of his predecessor, he even granted life annuities. The character of the king's council in this phase can best be shown by a few personal instances.

Edward Dalyngrugg was a knight connected with the council from the thirteenth to the sixteenth year. For his attendance he was granted a life annuity of one hundred marks,³ which he received in addition to wages of ten shillings a day.⁴ How assiduous a councillor he was is shown by his accounts, which state that from January 8 of the fifteenth year to February 21 of the sixteenth year he served 207 days. Upon the council records no name appears more frequently than his. For his good service in continually attending the council, as it was said, he received also a grant of two tuns of red Gascon wine each year.⁵

Richard Stury, a knight of the king's chamber, was one of the councillors "familiar with the king" who had been removed by the Good Parliament of Edward III., and was reinstated by John of Gaunt.⁶ He was reputed to be a patron of the Lollards. In the council of Richard II. from the fourteenth to the eighteenth year he received wages of ten shillings a day.⁷ His faithfulness

¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

² *Ibid.*, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴ *Accounts Exchequer*, K. R. 96/1.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 15 Ric. II., 37.

⁶ "*Chronicon Angliae*", *Archaeologia*, XXII. 226.

⁷ *Issue Rolls*, 14—18 Ric. II.

at the council is shown by his receipts at the exchequer,¹ and the king's favor by the grant of Gascon wine which he received as well as Dalyngrugg.² More frequently than any other persons are these two found employed on royal commissions.³

Lewis de Clifford, another knight of the king's chamber, formerly a mainpernor of Lord Latimer, and patron of the Lollards, was only less active than the former in Richard's council from the thirteenth to the fifteenth year. For this service he received an annuity of one hundred marks.⁴

The presence of a foreigner occurs in the case of Master Peregrino de Fano, a doctor of laws from Aquitaine, who in the seventeenth year came to England to attend the council and to serve as an envoy in treating of peace between the king of England and the king of France. For this he received a fee of forty pounds.⁵

It was in the last two years, during what is called the king's career of absolutism, that government by courtiers in defiance of the nobles and Parliamentary party was carried to the fullest extent. It is only fair to observe that some of the so-called favorites were men of ability and faithfulness. Among the royalist councillors of this time were the dukes of Aumâle, Norfolk, and Exeter, and the earl of Wiltshire. Of the greater men John Gilbert, bishop of St. David's, was the only one receiving a salary. He had been in the council from the thirteenth year and was at one time treasurer.⁶ In the twenty-first year at twenty shillings a day he served 164 days,⁷ and in the twenty-second year, which was the last, 128 days.⁸ Richard de Waldegrave was another king's knight, once speaker of the House of Commons, who served the council from the seventeenth year. Faithful to the last, he received one hundred marks each year.⁹ Lawrence Drew, a king's esquire, had been retained of the council in the seventeenth year with a life annuity of one hundred marks.¹⁰ In the eighteenth year he acted as a "reporter", being entrusted by the council with money to distribute in the expenses of the war in Ireland,¹¹ and returning with messages from the king to the council.¹² In the twenty-first year he

¹ In the sixteenth year he is recorded as attending the council at London for 159 consecutive days (Issue Roll (Pells), 16 Ric. II., Mich., m. 18), and in the eighteenth year similarly for seven months (*ibid.*, 18 Ric. II., Easter, m. 22).

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 15 Ric. II., 37.

³ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁴ Issue Roll (Pells), 14 Ric. II., Mich., m. 14; 15 Ric. II., m. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 Ric. II., Mich., Dec. 3.

⁶ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 508.

⁷ Issue Roll (Pells), 21 Ric. II., Mich., m. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 Ric. II., Easter, m. 11.

⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., 415; Issue Rolls, 17-22 Ric. II.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., 391.

¹¹ Issue Roll (Pells), 18 Ric. II., Easter, m. 14.

¹² Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 57.

was declared a member of the council for cases at law only.¹ He served to the end of the reign.²

Master Ralph de Selby, a baron of the exchequer and doctor of laws, besides his salary of forty marks for his office in the exchequer, in the seventeenth year was granted a fee of fifty marks a year.³ This fee, which was once declared renewed,⁴ he received through the twenty-second year.⁵ Other knights of the council were John Bussy, Henry Greene, William Bagot, and John Russel. It was once declared that for the arrangement of certain fines none should be present in the council but the chancellor, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, Bussy, Greene, and Bagot.⁶ For promoting the king's schemes in the second Parliament of 1397 these men have been given a special notoriety.⁷ They appear among the councillors trying cases in chancery, and were in attendance finally when Richard's council came to its tragic close. On the invasion of the duke of Lancaster in 1399, the duke of York, then guardian of the realm, hastily called together the chancellor (the bishop of Chichester), the treasurer (William le Scrope), the earl of Wiltshire, and the knights Bussy, Bagot, Greene, and Russel. Fleeing from their enemies, Scrope, Greene, and Bussy were forthwith captured at Bristol and hanged.⁸ Bagot lived to be apprehended in the next Parliament as an evil counsellor.⁹ The accusation therefore made against Richard on his deposition, that he had selected for his council according to his pleasure favorites and others who would not resist him,¹⁰ was certainly well founded.

One other cause of offense was the proneness of the council to supersede the courts of common law, removing cases from their jurisdiction, trying cases between suitors, and issuing summary writs of privy seal. The records of the council contain a few instances of such procedure.¹¹ That there were many cases of the kind is suggested in one of the first petitions of the commons in the next reign, when they asked that all purely personal actions, to which the king was not a party, be tried by the common law

¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

² Issue Roll (Pells), 22 Ric. II., Easter, m. 12.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., 328.

⁴ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 75.

⁵ Issue Roll (Pells), 22 Ric. II., Easter, m. 12.

⁶ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 76.

⁷ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 519.

⁸ Walsingham, *op. cit.*, II. 232; "Annales Ricardi Secundi", in Trokelowe, 243.

⁹ "Annales Henrici Quarti" (*ibid.*), 303.

¹⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 399.

¹¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 76-78; *Select Cases in Chancery* (Selden Society), No. 34.

and not before the council, and that all actions of the kind before the council of Richard which were still pending be annulled and adjourned to the common law.¹

Of the history of the council during the reigns of Henry IV. and of Henry VI., when again Parliamentary pressure was brought to bear, there is no need at present to speak. The conclusions now to be drawn would not be much affected thereby. The first part of the reign of Richard II. shows, to a fuller extent than at any time before or since, the aims of Parliament to elect the council and to direct its organization. Even then the will of Parliament was only intermittently and with no consistency asserted. Moreover the council was already too mature and well-established an institution to be readily changed by legislative enactments. In the king's personal government during the later years of the reign we see the whole Parliamentary policy brought to naught. That the council was normally within the sphere of the royal prerogative and depended not upon statutes for its power or usefulness was destined again to be proved. Yet there are results which may be attributed to the influence direct and indirect of lords and commons. The privy council was never again so large or so heterogeneous a body as heretofore; its members were more generally of respectable estate; the councillors felt something of a responsibility for their actions; while as a governing body it was drawn more into the light and its actions were better understood and noted. Of these results the latter has afforded the material from which in the main the present article has been constructed.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 446.

THE OFFICE OF INTENDANT IN NEW FRANCE

A STUDY IN FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY

As one dips into the voluminous documentary data available for the study of French colonization and French colonial institutions in North America, one's initial impression is that of prodigious official activity. The hand of authority appears everywhere, restlessly thrusting itself into every department of colonial life—ordering, directing, or restraining. A hierarchy of officials, formidable in number, is seen issuing edicts, ordinances, declarations, decrees, and judgments with a profusion that is ominous and bewildering.¹ It is not strange, therefore, that students of the French régime in the New World have recoiled from the task of attempting to define precisely the position and powers of the various administrative officials; for the multitude of their jurisdictions appear at first sight to be inextricably dovetailed, and the limits of their several activities hopelessly overlapped. The sage De Tocqueville has somewhere remarked that in the days of the old dominion the administration took the place of Providence. One might add that at any rate it seemed almost as omnipresent if not always as omniscient, and that its ways were frequently as inscrutable.

This paternal system had its myriad of agents of all ranks, jurisdictions, and qualities, all vying in the activity of their administrative energies, and encroaching upon the apparent jurisdictions of one another in a way which seems almost to preclude any exact definition of their proper positions and functions. Against this somewhat kaleidoscopic background, however, one figure stands silhouetted with tolerable clearness—that of the intendant, at once the most active and the most characteristic royal officer of the prerevolutionary era. In New France as in Old, this special custodian of the royal absolutism filled a post which is capable of being described with some exactness, and exercised powers which are susceptible of definition.

For a proper understanding of the position and functions of the colonial intendant, a word or two must be said as to the origin

¹ The *Registres du Conseil Souverain et du Conseil Supérieur de Québec*, from September 18, 1663, to April 8, 1760, fill no less than fifty-six ponderous manuscript volumes; the *Ordonnances des Intendants du Canada* make up the contents of forty-four more; and there are in addition thirty-six volumes of minor decrees and judgments.

and importance of the intendency in France. During the century and a half preceding the Revolution the main administrative division of France was the *généralité*, a unit usually but not necessarily coextensive with the province. At the head of this division was placed a royal official, the Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finance, armed with very extensive administrative powers, distinguished by his loyalty to the interests of the king, and in a sense reflecting the absolutism of the monarchy. Within his *généralité* the intendant was bound by no hard and fast statutes or regulations, and he owed no obedience to any local authorities: he was appointed by, removable by, and responsible to the king alone. When he took office his powers were given him in the form of a royal commission; and these powers might be widened or narrowed from time to time by special instructions from the crown. Usually, however, both the commission and the instructions were couched in very general terms; and, reliance being placed upon the judgment and fidelity of the official, he was left to carry out their spirit as local conditions might seem to dictate.¹ To an outsider the intendant's powers might well appear portentous, as they did to the observant Scotchman, John Law, who remarked to D'Argenson, "Let me tell you that this kingdom of France is governed by its thirty intendants . . . on whom, so far as the provinces are concerned, welfare and want, prosperity and adversity, absolutely depend."

But how, one may ask, came this centralization of local administration into the intendant's hands? By a somewhat curious but very persistent error the origin and early development of the intendant's office has been commonly attributed to Richelieu.² Such an attribution was once not without reason; for even by some of his contemporaries the great cardinal was regarded as sponsor for the system of provincial intendancies, and the idea that he created and developed the office would fit very nicely with his well-known

¹ Charles Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, 1901), ch. II.

² The error may be found even in the most recent publications. "Ces fonctionnaires firent leur apparition durant la première moitié du XVII^{ème} siècle. Ce fut Richelieu qui les créa" (Thomas Chapais, *Jean Talon, Intendant de la Nouvelle-France*, Quebec, 1904, p. 18). "An even more effective instrument of royal control was afterwards created in the form of the intendants. Dating in their beginning from the middle of the sixteenth century, reintroduced by Henry IV. in his reconstruction of France after the religious wars, these officials were settled upon by Richelieu in the period between 1624 and 1641 as the principal agents and representatives of royal power" (E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, New York, 1904, p. 117).

general policy of administrative centralization.¹ Furthermore, the so-called "Édit de Création des Intendants" (1635), published in Isambert's *Recueil Général des Anciennes Loix Françaises*,² seemed definitely to indicate the genesis of the office. Almost half a century ago, however, a careful investigator demonstrated beyond question that the edict of 1635 had been printed under a misleading title by the editor of the collection in which it was contained; that the intendency was in existence long before the time of Richelieu; and that its powers were so well developed by the first quarter of the seventeenth century that the cardinal-minister could have found but little to add to them.³ On the contrary, if the *Testament Politique* is to be regarded as Richelieu's legacy of political theory, he would seem, far from having created or developed the office, to have had in truth a very poor opinion of it and to have been actually in favor of curbing its jurisdiction.⁴

The provincial intendency was, therefore, no spontaneous and arbitrary creation, dating back, as some writers have supposed, only three decades before its transplantation to New France.⁵ It was a very old post, and in its origin a not very important one, the jurisdiction of which grew slowly but surely in a general atmosphere of centralization, its widening powers simply reflecting with fidelity the steadily increasing fusion of administrative functions under the direct control of the crown.⁶

The office of intendant first made its appearance in connection with the affairs of New France in the spring of 1663. The colony had just been taken away from the Company of One Hundred Associates; and the king, on the advice of Colbert, had decided to provide it with a new framework of government modelled in general upon that of a French province. To this end an elaborate edict constituting the new administration was issued in April, 1663.⁷ By it provision was made for the establishment in New France of a Sovereign Council (*conseil souverain*), to be composed in the first instance of seven members: a lieutenant-general and governor

¹ Cf. the *Mémoires* of Séguier and of Omer Talon, cited by Gabriel Hanotaux in his *Origines de l'Institution des Intendants des Provinces* (Paris, 1901), 152-153.

² Paris, 1822-1833, XVI. 442 et seqq.

³ Jules Caillet, *De l'Administration en France sous le Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, 1857), 44 et seqq.

⁴ Richelieu, *Testament Politique* (Amsterdam, 1688), pt. 1., ch. 1v., §§ iii, iv.

⁵ James Douglas, *Old France in the New World* (Cleveland, 1905), 507.

⁶ Allen Johnson, *The Intendant as a Political Agent under Louis XIV.* (Lowell, Mass., 1899), ch. 1.

⁷ "Édit de création du conseil supérieur de Québec", *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 37-39.

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appointed by the crown; the bishop or other head of the church in the colony, and five other members, presumably colonials, appointed jointly (*conjointement et de concert*) by the governor and bishop.¹ The council was to have the assistance and advice of an attorney-general, but as to the right of this officer to a seat at the council-board the edict is not clear.

Contrary to the common assertion of historians, the edict of April, 1663, made no mention of a colonial intendant; but there is good reason to believe that the king and his ministers intended to send such an official to Canada, and had in fact already selected the first appointee. About a month before the edict was issued, one M. Robert had been duly commissioned as intendant of New France. The commission of Robert was never enregistered in the records at Quebec, and it is certain that he never came out to the colony. In fact, I have found no evidence that he ever performed any official act. There was, however, sent out to New France in 1663 a special royal commissioner, the *Sieur Gaudais-Dupont*, who was directed by the terms of his commission to study closely the administration of justice, the methods of maintaining law and order, and the existing arrangements for the raising of revenue.² The commission of this official gave him a seat and a vote in the Sovereign Council, where he was to take precedence immediately after the bishop.³ Gaudais remained at Quebec but a short time, returning in the following year to France, where he made a report of his investigations to the king.

It was at this point that colonial affairs took a new and sudden shift. The royal administration had no more than firmly established itself in the province when, under the auspices of Colbert, a powerful commercial company known as the Company of the West Indies was organized, and to this company was given a trading monopoly throughout all the domains of France in the western world.⁴ In these territories the new company was empowered to appoint "such governors" as might be deemed "requisite";⁵ and "to name judges and officers of justice wherever need be";

¹ As the governor and bishop found themselves unable to agree in the selection, the king soon took the appointment of councillors into his own hands. In 1675 the number of appointive councillors was increased from five to seven (*ibid.*, 83), and in 1703 a further increase to twelve was ordered (*ibid.*, 299).

² "Commission octroyée au *Sieur Gaudais* pour aller examiner le pays de la Nouvelle-France", May 7, 1663, *ibid.*, III, 22-23.

³ Gaudais never, as Kingsford (*History of Canada*, I, 306) seems to suppose, had the title of intendant.

⁴ "Établissement de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales", *Édits et Ordonnances*, I, 40-48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § xxvi.

and it was also expressly authorized "to establish sovereign councils" in such places as might be "necessary".¹ Although the company was thus clearly invested with jurisdiction over the territory of New France, it does not appear to have exercised any of its political powers. It is said to have prayed the king to make the political appointments himself; but of such action the commissions of the officials give no evidence, and it is altogether probable that the company was not even consulted with reference to any of the colonial appointments.² The attitude of the intendant Talon toward the company would seem to show that he was under no obligation to it for his nomination to the post which he held.³

Thus it was that, during the ten years intervening between the establishment and the fall of this company (1664-1674), the situation in New France presented a strange dualism. By its charter the company had been authorized to name the officials of administration and of justice, but as a matter of fact the king kept this power jealously to himself. By its charter it was empowered to make land grants, but in practice such grants were made only by the royal officials. In short, the Bourbon monarch took away with one hand what he gave with the other; and the company, with all its portentous charter powers, secured little more than a monopoly of the colonial fur-trade. The failure to realize clearly this curious divergence between the law and the facts of the situation has served to mislead more than one student of the institutions that existed under the old régime.

The first intendant actually to enter upon the duties of his office in New France was Jean Talon, whose commission bears date of March 23, 1665; and from this time down to the period of the French withdrawal from Canada the post was filled continuously, with the exception of the three years intervening between the departure of Talon in 1672 and the arrival of Duchesneau in 1675.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, § xxxi.

² Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), I. 379-380, says that the king appointed the first governor and intendant at the suggestion of the company; but this assertion scarcely tallies with the fact that M. de Mézy and M. Louis Robert were appointed governor and intendant respectively by commissions dated almost a year before the company was chartered. See *Edits et Ordonnances*, I. 33; III. 21.

³ In one of his despatches Talon wrote, "If His Majesty wishes to make anything of Canada, he will never succeed unless he withdraws it from the hands of the company . . ." (Talon to Colbert, October 14, 1665, *Correspondance Générale*, II. 248).

⁴ The list of intendants of New France, with the dates of their commissions, is as follows:

Louis Robert, of whose commission no record has been found, but who must have been appointed prior to March 21, 1663, for his name appears as intendant

Each intendant received from the king a commission of appointment setting forth his jurisdiction and powers; this he presented at the first meeting of the council after his arrival, when it was

in a royal edict of that date (*Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 33). M. Robert, as has been stated, did not come out to the colony.

Jean Talon, commission dated March 23, 1665, registered at Quebec on September 23 following. Talon left the colony in the autumn of 1668 and remained in France until the summer of 1670. He went back to France again in the fall of 1672, the king having accepted his request to be relieved of his post.

Claude de Bouteroue, commission dated April 18, 1668, registered at Quebec on October 22 following. As Bouteroue was sent to the colony to act as intendant during the absence of Talon, he gave up his post on the return of the latter in 1670.

Jacques Duchesneau, commission dated June 5, 1675, registered at Quebec on September 16 following. Duchesneau was recalled, leaving the colony for France on May 9, 1682.

Jacques de Meulles, commission dated May 1, 1682, registered at Quebec on October 9 following. Meulles left the colony during the first week of October, 1686.

Jean Bochart de Champigny, commission dated April 24, 1686, registered at Quebec on September 23 following. Champigny went home to France in October, 1702.

François de Beauharnois, commission dated April 1, 1702, registered at Quebec on October 15 following. Beauharnois left Quebec in the autumn of 1705.

Jacques Raudot, commission dated January 1, 1705, registered at Quebec on September 17 following. On the same date Antoine-Denis Raudot, his son, was commissioned "to serve as adjoint and to act as intendant in case his father should be ill or otherwise incapacitated or should be absent from Quebec a distance of more than ten leagues". The younger Raudot returned to France in 1710, whither his father followed him a year later.

Michel Bégon, commission dated March 31, 1710, registered at Quebec on October 14, 1712. Bégon's departure for the colony was delayed by the death of his father. After twelve years' service he was promoted to the intendency of Havre, and left Quebec in 1724.

Edmé-Nicolas Robert, commissioned February 22, 1724. M. Robert died at sea en route to his post; hence his commission does not appear on the council registers at Quebec.

Guillaume de Chazelles, commissioned in the spring of 1725. Chazelles left Rochefort in July of the same year on board the frigate *Le Chameau*. The vessel, however, getting badly out of her course, was wrecked near Louisburg, whence news of the disaster was sent to Quebec, and thence to France.

Claude Thomas Dupuy, commission dated November 23, 1725, registered at Quebec on September 2, 1726. Dupuy returned to France in October, 1728.

Gilles Hocquart, commissioned commissary-general and acting intendant of New France on March 8, 1729. Two years later, February 21, 1731, he was promoted to the intendency by a commission registered at Quebec on August 20 following. Hocquart returned to France in 1749, having been appointed intendant at Brest.

François Bigot, commission dated January 1, 1748, registered at Quebec on September 2 following. Bigot left the colony, with the other officials and the troops, in 1760.

During the interval between the departure of Jacques Raudot and the arrival of Bégon, M. d'Aigremont performed the duties of the intendency; and later, on the departure of Dupuy, d'Aigremont again assumed charge, but died before the

ordered to be enregistered.¹ The commissions differed somewhat from one another, but in general they disclosed a broad line of uniformity. The phrasology was strikingly similar to that adopted in the commissions of the provincial intendants in France during the same period, but there were some important differences in the nature and scope of the powers conferred.² Invariably the commissions were couched in such general terms that, were one to judge solely by the wording, one would be quickly forced to the conclusion that the intendant was the real agent of administration in the colony, and might well question what scope could possibly be left for the numerous other officers. To Talon, for example, was given the somewhat comprehensive authority to order everything as might seem "just and proper".³ With the commission, however, usually went a letter of instructions from the minister, which, together with subsequent instructions that might be sent out from time to time, gave specific directions on various matters. Not infrequently these instructions limited the powers conferred in the intendant's commission of appointment; and occasionally they were quite inconsistent with the terms of the commission. They were not registered, but were kept privately by the intendant for his own guidance.⁴

The intendants of New France were not appointed for any definite term of years; they held office during the royal pleasure. In practice the terms varied considerably. Talon held his post for five years only, Meulles for four, Boutheroue and Dupuy for but two years each; on the other hand, Bégon was intendant of New France for twelve years, Champigny for sixteen, and Hocquart for eighteen. There seems to have been no aim to make the term a fixed one; for elasticity and complete dependence upon the will of the king were in the colony, as at home, the essential features of the office. During a period of almost a century (1665-1760) eleven intendants assumed their duties in the colony; hence the

arrival of Hocquart. In the meantime M. de Silly acted as intendant. Between the departure of Hocquart and the arrival of Bigot, M. Michel exercised the functions of the office.

The foregoing list is given in full because, so far as I am aware, no complete and accurate table of the intendants of New France, with the dates of their commissions and of their departures, has hitherto been printed.

¹ The various commissions are printed in *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 21-81.

² Cf. the typical intendant's commission printed in Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.*, 455-458.

³ "Et de tout ordonner ainsi que vous verrez être juste et à propos." *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 34.

⁴ Many of these letters of instruction are preserved in the Correspondance Générale.

average term of tenure was about eight and one-half years.¹ Some of them might have remained in office longer had they so desired—as, for example, Talon or Raudot; others, as Duchesneau and Dupuy, were recalled by the king because of some dissatisfaction with their work in office.

In every case the intendant was sent out from France: no colonial was ever named to the post.² The office does not seem to have been regarded as a lucrative or an agreeable one, for the work was heavy and the responsibilities were great. The remuneration too was so ridiculously small—usually twelve thousand livres per year—that various intendants complained bitterly of their inability to make both ends meet on this allowance, especially in view of the high cost of living at Quebec.³ Down to 1685 the intendant provided his own living quarters, and usually transacted his official business in the council-room at the palace of the governor; but this arrangement was so unsatisfactory that, at the urgent solicitation of Meulles in 1685, the king furnished funds with which the intendant might secure quarters of his own. A large building which had been originally built by Talon as a brewery was accordingly purchased, and, after being partly rebuilt, was called by the pretentious name of Palais de Justice.⁴ Henceforth the intendants lived in this roomy structure, and here the council usually held its sessions. The abundant opportunities which the intendants had of supplementing their meagre stipend by private trade was naturally a severe tax upon their integrity. Most of them, however, seem to have looked upon the colonial post as a stepping-stone to something better at home, and consequently strove so to conduct themselves as to win the favor and reward of the crown. In this hope those who served the king well were not disappointed: Bégon was promoted to the intendency at Havre in 1724, Hocquart to the same post at Brest in 1749, and several others were continued in the royal service after their return to France.⁵

Without exception the intendants of New France were men who had served their king in some civil capacity before coming to

¹ During the same period there were twelve governors, with terms ranging from three to twenty-three years.

² Of the governors only one, Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, was born in Canada. Most of the minor positions, however, were given to residents of the colony.

³ The remuneration was not fixed in a lump sum, but was made up of different items.

⁴ The building was burned in 1713, but was promptly rebuilt. The king sent Bégon three thousand livres to recompense him for personal losses sustained in the fire.

⁵ Régis Roy, "Les Intendants de la Nouvelle-France; Notes sur leurs Familles", in Société Royale du Canada, *Mémoires*, 2e Série, IX. 63-107.

the colony. France had at this time no colonial civil service, but chose her colonial officials from among the members of the royal service at home.¹ Usually those appointed to the Canadian intendancy were drawn from the ranks of the lesser nobility, the *gens de robe*, or the *bourgeoisie*.² They were men who had entered the service at an early age, and had been promoted as the result of tested fidelity to the interests of the monarchy and of industry shown in office. As no one, with the single exception of Talon, seems to have held a provincial intendancy in France before coming to Canada, it may be presumed that the post of intendant in New France was less to be desired than the headship of a small *généralité* at home. Of the other colonial intendants, Bégon had been director of stores at Rochefort, Raudot a member of the board of excise (*cour des aides*), Duchesneau royal treasurer at Tours, Dupuy advocate-general of the royal council, and Bigot commissary of the military forces at Louisburg. The others are referred to in their respective commissions as having served the king faithfully "in the various offices" heretofore held by them.³ All of them proved to be men of more than ordinary ability, and some of them displayed unusual qualities of administration and statesmanship. While one of the number may justly be pilloried as a rogue, none showed himself incapable—a statement which can scarcely be made with truth in regard to the dozen governors of the old régime.⁴

We have the word of De Tocqueville that the duties and powers of the Canadian intendant were far wider than those of his prototype at home.⁵ In one sense the philosopher-historian is probably correct; for, while the authority given to the intendant of New France was not, judged by the terms of his commission and instructions, so extensive as that given to a provincial intendant at home, the distance of three thousand miles which separate Quebec from Versailles necessarily involved the exercise of wider discretionary powers by the colonial official. In France protests against the action of an intendant could be laid before the higher authorities and a decision be rendered within a few days, or at most a few

¹ To this fact a later student of French colonial policy attributes many of the capital errors of the old régime. See Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes* (Paris, 1891, 4th ed.), 450-451.

² Five of the colonial intendants were born in Touraine, two each in Bourgogne and Orléanais, one each in Hainaut, Poitou, Auvergne, Champagne, and Guyenne; cf. Roy, "Les Intendants", 66.

³ See the various commissions in *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 21 et seqq.

⁴ Governors De la Barre and De Denonville may be singled out as strikingly incapable.

⁵ "An intendant far more powerful than his colleagues in France". De Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (New York, 1876), 299, note f.

weeks; but from any act of the colonial intendant appeals could be forwarded only by the ships which left in the autumn of each year, and the royal decision could not be had until the year following. The independence enjoyed by the colonial intendant was therefore much greater than that allowed to any similar officer at home.

Owing to the broad scope of the duties and powers of the intendant of New France, it is not easy to summarize them succinctly; but it may simplify matters somewhat to group them under two main heads: (1) those which he had as a member of the council, and (2) those which he had as an independent official.

1. As has been pointed out, the edict creating the council made no provision that the intendant should have a seat in the new body; but the commissions of the various intendants supplied this omission. From 1663 to 1675 the governor presided at the meetings of the council, the bishop ranked next to him, and the intendant third; but in the latter year the king, for some unexplained reason, ordered that henceforth the intendant should preside at the meetings, although retaining the third place of precedence on all other official occasions.¹ The new intendant, Duchesneau, however, who came out to Quebec in the same year, complicated the matter somewhat by bringing with him a commission which gave him the right to preside only when the governor happened to be absent.² Governor Frontenac therefore refused to yield his place at the head of the table to the new intendant, especially since the king and the minister continued to address him in their instructions as "chief and president of the council".³ Pending a reference of the matter to the king, a somewhat undignified squabble ensued between governor and intendant. The king, however, promptly decided in favor of the intendant's contention, pointing out that the wording of the edict of 1675 was perfectly plain, and reprimanding Frontenac severely for having "set up pretensions entirely opposed" to this royal decree.⁴ Henceforth the intendants presided at the council meetings and exercised the usual powers of a presiding officer, taking the votes, signing the records, and calling special meetings.

Although possessing but a single vote in a body of ten (and

¹ "Nous voulons que l'intendant de justice, police et finances, lequel dans l'ordre ci-dessus aura la troisième place comme président du dit conseil . . . jouisse des mêmes avantages que les premiers présidents de nos cours . . ." *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 84.

² "Présider au conseil souverain en l'absence du dit sieur de Frontenac." *Ibid.*, III. 42.

³ Colbert to Frontenac, May 12, 1678, *Correspondance Générale*, IV. 144.

⁴ King to Frontenac, April 29, 1680, *ibid.*, V. 190. See also *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 238.

later of fifteen) members, the intendant had really a very considerable power at the council-board; for the members of the council usually grouped themselves into two factions, one of which looked to him as its leader. This was especially true during the first three or four decades following the establishment of the conciliar administration, when the interests of religion and commerce in the colony came into conflict, and the question of the liquor traffic with the Indians split the colonial population into two hostile camps. With a majority of the councillors behind him, the intendant was in a position absolutely to dominate the civil affairs of the colony.

2. More important, however, were the duties and powers of the intendant as an independent administrative and judicial officer. In this field he was not a subordinate of the governor, nor were his actions subject to review by the council; his responsibility was to the king alone.¹ His communications and reports did not have to pass through the hands of the governor, but were made directly to the minister—a privilege which was looked upon as affording a good link in the chain of checks and balances. One result was, of course, that when the governor and the intendant quarrelled they flayed each other unmercifully in their despatches to their common superiors.² While it was essential to the progress and quiet of the colony that the two officials should not come into a too violent antagonism, it may reasonably be inferred from the tenor of their instructions that the complete harmony of the two officials was neither

¹ The respective jurisdictions of governor and intendant in the colony were never precisely defined by any royal edict, though the issue of such would have prevented many of the disagreements which arose from time to time between the two officials. In the *Correspondance Générale* is preserved an interesting document entitled, "Difficulté qu'il plaira à M. le Marquis de Seignelay de décider sur les fonctions de gouverneur et intendant de Canada". This document comprises a list of questions evidently submitted to the king in 1684, with the answers of His Majesty written in the margin. One of these answers is as follows: "Sur le fait de la guerre et des armes le gouverneur doit ordonner ce qu'il estimera a propos. Et pour ce qui est de la justice et de la police a l'égard des sauvages meslez avec les François l'intendant et le conseil souverain en doivent connoistre. Sa Majesté ne veut pas que l'intendant donne aucun ordre aux gouverneurs, mais quand il'y a quelque choses qui regarde le bien de son service il peut leur écrire et les gouverneurs a cet egard doivent suivre ses avis" (April 10, 1684, *Correspondance Générale*, VI. 322). The governor, nevertheless, sometimes claimed the right to intervene in purely civil matters. On one occasion Governor Courcelle wrote on the margin of an ordinance passed by the council, and relating wholly to a civil matter, the following terse comment: "Cette Ordonnance estant contre l'autorité du Gouverneur et bien public, je ne l'ay pas voulu signer" (*Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*, Quebec, 1885, I. 448).

² See the despatches of Frontenac and Duchesneau during the years 1678-1682, in *Correspondance Générale*, V.

expected nor regarded as desirable.¹ This system of using one official as a check or spy upon his colleagues is abundantly characteristic of the general spirit of the period of French dominion in Canada.

During the earlier part of the period it was the custom of the intendant to send home by the returning ships, in the autumn of each year, reports on the general condition of affairs in New France. These papers dealt with almost every phase of colonial life and were frequently of formidable length. Single despatches not infrequently covered thirty or forty closely-written folio pages, and it sometimes happened that an intendant would send three or four reports by the same vessel. These numerous "*Mémoires sur l'État présent du Canada*", as they were called, form an invaluable source of data for the study of French colonization in North America. The minister or his subordinates went carefully through them, and, in case of the more lengthy ones, made abstracts for the personal perusal of the king. His Majesty then made marginal comments, which formed the basis of despatches sent by the minister to the intendant in the following spring. These marginal notes testify not only to the deep personal interest which Louis XIV. took in even the minor affairs of his colony beyond the seas, but also to the industry and patience of the Grand Monarch.²

As the colony grew in population and interests the policy of sending reports once a year was abandoned, and shorter communications on special topics were sent by the intendant whenever opportunity afforded. About once a year, or perhaps less frequently, he supplemented these special despatches by a comprehensive "*Mémoire*" on colonial affairs in general; and very frequently he united with the governor in a joint report. After the death of Louis XIV. the communications of the colonial officials appear not to have received the same careful attention as formerly; but the successive intendants continued their despatches of pitiless length, filling them with details of colonial progress amidst difficulties which they in no wise minimized, with suggestions, criticisms, requests, and, not infrequently, with rather curious laudations of their own personal services. Often interesting, but more often thoroughly tiresome, these despatches con-

¹ Cf. "*Instructions au Sieur Talon*", March 27, 1665. A copy of this document may be found in the Parkman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² When the French left Canada in 1759 they took with them the confidential archives. These were deposited in the Ministère de la Marine. At the present time this enormous mass of manuscript documents, comprising substantially all the instructions, despatches, abstracts, etc., is preserved in the Archives of the Minister of Colonies, Pavillon de Flore, in the south wing of the Louvre in Paris. A considerable portion of the whole has been transcribed by the Canadian Archives Branch at Ottawa, and constitutes the collection known as the Correspondance Générale.

tain a wealth of data which no student of the institutions of France in America can afford to neglect.

Apart from his duty of reporting to his superiors on all matters of interest in the colony, the intendant, as an independent royal representative, had a plenitude of special duties and powers. A convenient method of classifying these is suggested by his exact title, Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finances.¹ Under the general heads of judicial, police, and financial powers, then, some approach to a definite analysis of the intendant's prerogatives may be made.

Judicial Powers.—The intendant's powers and duties in relation to the administration of justice in the colony may be grouped into two subdivisions, which may be termed general and special judicial authority. In the first place, he was by the terms of his commission entrusted with a general supervision over the hierarchy of colonial courts. The power of appointing or of removing the regular inferior judges and judicial officers was not, indeed, vested in his hands. The royal judges at Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers held their appointments from the king, as did the attorneys and clerks connected with these royal courts;² and seigniorial judges were appointed by the seigniors. The intendant was, however, by the terms of his commission instructed to keep close watch on the doings of all these officers, and was authorized to intervene whenever it was necessary to prevent miscarriage of justice. This was not an easy thing to do, especially since the officials of justice were not responsible to him. One intendant complained bitterly of his real lack of authority over the royal judge at Quebec: "I can do nothing with him", he wrote, "for he keeps on good terms with the governor and council and pays no heed to me."³ By the terms of his commission, moreover, the intendant was empowered to call before him litigation from the lower courts; but when Meulles undertook to do this he received from the king a sharp reprimand, and was instructed that for the future this policy was not to be pursued.⁴ This frequent contradiction between the commission and the instructions of the intendant is one of the confusing obstacles to any clear and precise definition of his judicial powers. The intendant might, moreover,

¹ The full title of the intendant was "Intendant de la Justice, Police et Finances en Canada, Acadie, Isle de Terre-Neuve et autres pays de la France Septentrionale". This title was uniform in the commissions of all the intendants except the last, Bigot, whose commission designated him as "Intendant de la Justice, Police et Finances en Canada, la Louisiane et dans toutes les terres et isles dépendantes de la Nouvelle-France". See *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 75.

² The commissions of these officials may be found *ibid.*, 82 et seqq.

³ Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1684, *Correspondance Générale*, VI. 273.

⁴ "Instruction pour le Sieur de Meulles", July 31, 1684, *ibid.*, 39.

have the attorney-general call a case before the council and have it there adjudicated; but the attorney-general did not always hold himself at the beck and call of the intendant in such matters. Meulles on one occasion complained bitterly that this official had become "bold to insolence", and that there was need of teaching him his proper place and duties.¹ At the same time, there were a good many removals of cases from the lower courts to the higher in order to prevent delays or denials of justice.

More definite were the special judicial powers of the intendant. He took cognizance, in the first instance, of all criminal cases of a serious nature, especially of treason, sedition, or counterfeiting, and of those in which the crown was supposed to have a special concern. He had charge of all contestations relating to trade and commerce, exercising in this sphere the powers of the *juges consuls* in France.² Disputes between seigniors and their dependents as to the nature and extent of seigniorial rights came, either directly or from the seigniorial courts, before the intendant or his subdelegates (*subdélégués*); and of such controversies there was assuredly no dearth, as the recorded judgments of the intendants show.³ In dealing with these cases the intendant was supposed to follow the terms of the *coutume de Paris*, which had been prescribed as the "common law" of the colony in 1664; but some of the intendants allowed themselves a good deal of latitude in adjudicating cases.⁴ Talon, Raudot, Hocquart, and others strove earnestly to discourage litigation but without any striking degree of success, for the Norman habitant was usually combative in disposition.⁵ The rather loose manner in which property rights were defined, moreover, often invited disputes.⁶

No fees were charged in the intendant's court; the suitors pleaded their own causes without the intervention of attorneys, and

¹ Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1684, Corr. Générale, 273.

² "L'intendant exerçait la juridiction consulaire par lui-même et probablement aussi par ses subdélégués". P. J. O. Chauveau, *Notice sur la Publication des Registres du Conseil Souverain* (Quebec, 1885), p. liv, note.

³ These judgments are printed in *Édits et Ordonnances*, II. 423 et seqq.

⁴ See *ibid.*, I. 46, § xxxiii. See also the "Commission d'Intendant . . . pour M. Bigot", January 1, 1748, *ibid.*, III. 75-76. The wording is, "juger toutes matières . . . conformément à nos édits et ordonnances, et à la coutume de notre bonne ville, prévôté et vicomté de Paris".

⁵ As one writer has aptly put it, the habitant had "beaucoup de chaleur dans la discussion des intérêts privés, et de calme dans celle des intérêts publics". Joseph Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America* (London, 1832), I. 414, note.

⁶ Raudot in one of his despatches declared that "if all those who might avail themselves of their litigious spirit were allowed to bring lawsuits, there would soon be more suits in this country than there are persons". Raudot to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1707, Correspondance Générale, XXVI. 9-10.

the procedure was very simple.¹ Decision was given in the form of a decree, which was communicated to the parties concerned. When any considerable number of parties were interested, the decree was usually ordered to be read to the parishioners after mass or to be affixed to the door of the parish church.² To this end the intendant communicated such ordinances to the *capitaine de la milice* of the parish or *côte*, an official who acted as the local agent of the Quebec authorities and whose duty it was, among other things, to see to the publication and enforcement of decrees issued by the proper higher authorities.

The intendant was empowered to appoint subdelegates with jurisdiction in petty civil cases in which the amount in dispute did not exceed one hundred livres.³ These officials likewise supervised the enforcement of the police regulations which the intendant promulgated from time to time, and they tried minor criminal cases. Subdelegates were maintained at Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers; but from their decisions appeals might at any time be taken to the intendant. From the decisions of the intendant there was always a right of appeal to the Council of State in France; but as it was always a year or more before the opinion of the Council of State could be had on such appeals, the judgments of the intendant were usually accepted as final.

Police Powers.—Although the colonial intendant was a judicial officer of considerable authority, his main duties were not judicial but administrative. He was authorized to issue, in concurrence with the council, such general police regulations as might be deemed necessary; but, when the council's concurrence could be had only with difficulty or delay, the intendant was empowered to issue on his own responsibility such regulations as he thought demanded by the public interest.⁴ This "police power" comprised not only matters directly connected with the maintenance of law and order in the colony, but all matters relating to the protection of life and property, to the public health, and to the carrying on of trade and

¹ "Everybody pleads his own cause. Our Themis is prompt, and she does not bristle with fees, costs, and charges." Lahontan, *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1705), I. 21.

² Cf. *Edits et Ordonnances*, II. 429.

³ G. Doutre and E. Lareau, *Le Droit Civil Canadien*, I., *Histoire Générale du Droit Canadien* (Montreal, 1872), 133.

⁴ "Faire avec le dit conseil souverain tous les réglemens que vous estimerez nécessaires pour la police générale du dit pays . . . ; et en cas que vous estimiez plus à propos et nécessaire pour le bien de notre service, soit par la difficulté ou le retardement de faire les dits réglemens avec le dit conseil, nous vous donnons le pouvoir et faculté par ces mêmes présentes de les faire seul." *Edits et Ordonnances*, III. 42-43.

industry, in fact all regulations demanded by the general paternal policy of the administration. In the exercise of these powers, all the intendants issued many ordinances without the assistance of the council, some providing general restrictions, others those designed to meet local conditions and applying only to certain persons or localities. Taken all together, these "Ordonnances des Intendants du Canada" make a formidable collection numbering well up into the hundreds. The matters with which they deal are of the widest variety, embracing almost every phase of colonial life from the most important to the most trivial. An ordinance establishing a system of weights and measures in the colony shares space with another forbidding coasting in winter along the hilly streets of Quebec. Various decrees deal with such matters as the holding of negro slaves, the regulation of inns and markets, the preservation of game, the building of houses and fences, furious driving, Sabbath observance, precedence at religious services, wills and testaments, stray cattle, guardianship of minors, and almost every imaginable topic. Nothing seems to have been accounted too trivial to merit an ordinance.¹ On the other hand, the council stood sponsor for many "Règlements" drafted by the intendant. In 1676 it promulgated a lengthy and comprehensive code of police regulations,² and from time to time supplemented this by ordinances on special subjects.

From time to time the intendant was charged by his instructions with special police duties and powers. One duty which was committed to him at an early date was that of fostering a rapid increase in the colonial population. He was instructed to receive the settlers sent out from France, to secure them locations, to get the single ones married, and to see that none went back to Europe. He supervised the distribution of bounties which the king gave to those colonists who married early and reared large families; and, on the other hand, he enforced the royal penalties imposed for obdurate celibacy.³ "The end and rule of all your conduct", wrote Colbert to Bouteroue, "should be the increase of the colony; on this point you should never be satisfied, but labor without ceasing to find every imaginable expedient for preserving the inhabitants, attracting new ones, and multiplying them by marriage".⁴ The

¹ These ordinances will be found in *Edits et Ordonnances*, II. and III.

² "Règlements généraux du Conseil Supérieur de Québec, pour la Police", May 11, 1676, *ibid.*, II. 65-73.

³ "Arrêt du Conseil d'État du Roi pour encourager les mariages des garçons et des filles de Canada", *ibid.*, I. 67-68.

⁴ "Instruction pour M. Claude de Bouteroue", 1668, in Parkman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

first of the intendants had devoted himself so zealously to this work, and had clamored so persistently for more settlers, that Colbert found it necessary to remind him that it was not the royal design to depopulate France in order to people Canada.¹ The wish of the king was that the colony should be made to grow from within by the application of artificial stimulants; when it did not respond, the intendant was forced to bear the blame. On one occasion the king reminded Duchesneau that, if he failed in this particular, he might regard himself as having failed in the principal object for which he had been sent to the colony.²

The working of the seigniorial system of land tenure was another matter committed to the special police care of the intendant. From 1666 to 1676 all grants of seigniories had been made by the intendant alone. On a few occasions, while Talon was absent in France, the governor had made provisional grants, but these were promptly ratified by the intendant on his return to the colony. In 1676, however, a change was made by a royal edict which provided that for the future all grants of seigniories should be made by the governor and intendant jointly. These two were to consider together all applications, and to decide whether the previous status of any incoming settler was such as to entitle him to the grant of a colonial fief, or whether he should, on the other hand, be referred to some colonial seignior for a small *en censive* grant.³ Nevertheless, the relations of the seigniorial proprietors to the crown continued wholly within the special jurisdiction of the intendant. He was supposed to see that the seigniors paid their quint⁴ into the royal treasury at Quebec when it became due, and that they respected the various reservations which had been inserted in their title-deeds.⁵ He was entrusted with the enforcement of the various edicts which compelled the seigniors to grant lands to incoming settlers at the usual rates without exacting a bonus for favorable locations,⁶ which ordered them to build seigniorial mills on pain of forfeiting for all future

¹ Colbert to Talon, February 20, 1668, *ibid.*

² King (unsigned) to Duchesneau, June 2, 1680, Correspondance Générale, V. 197.

³ *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 89-90. When the two officials disagreed, the question was to be referred to the king. *Ibid.*, 572-574.²

⁴ A mutation fine equal to one-fifth of the value of the seignior, payable on the occasion of any change in ownership. It was the custom in New France to allow seigniors a rebate of one-third. See F. J. Cugnet, *Traité de la Loi des Fiefs* (Quebec, 1775), 11.

⁵ Such, for example, as the reservation of all oak timber suitable for use in the royal shipyards. On one occasion the intendant appointed officials to go about from seignior to seignior to see that this reservation was respected. See *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 469.

⁶ Especially the famous "Arrêts of Marly", 1711, *ibid.*, I. 324-325.

time their banal rights, to file plans (*aven et dénombrement*) of their seigniories, and so on. On the other hand, the intendant was expected to uphold the seignior in the enforcement of all his rightful claims; and his intervention to compel censitaires to render their just dues and services was sought on frequent occasions. One finds a large number of ordinances directing censitaires to pay their *rentes*, to render their *corvées*, to carry their grain exclusively to the seigniorial mill, to exhibit their titles for the seignior's inspection—ordinances, in short, relating to almost every incident which might be a matter of dispute between the seigniors and their dependents.¹

But while the intendant carefully protected the interests of the crown and supported the just claims of the seigniors, he was equally the protector of the censitaires against seigniorial oppression and rapacity. When a seignior refused to grant lands at a reasonable rate, the intendant was empowered to make the grant over the seignior's head.² When he found seigniors exacting dues and services to which they did not appear entitled, he promptly forbade such exactions.³ When complaints were made that the seigniorial mill was defective or out of order, he did not hesitate summarily to order improvements.⁴ When he found that seigniors were exacting *corvée* labor during the busy seed-time and harvest seasons, he interdicted all seigniors from exacting more than one day's work at a time.⁵ Whenever it could be shown that seigniorial exactions, even though legal, were operating to the detriment of general colonial progress, his intervention might be sought, and usually with success, to secure their modification.⁶ The work of the intendant served appreciably to make the land-tenure system work smoothly; it was the failure of the British authorities after the conquest to continue this administrative jurisdiction that led to the development of many abuses.

The intendant was charged with a general supervision of the roads and bridges of the colony. The immediate supervision of construction and repair was, however, in the hands of an official known as the *grand voyer*, who was from time to time empowered by intendant's ordinance to command the personal labor (*corvée*) of the habitants in the work.⁷

Colonial industrial interests likewise demanded the intendant's

¹ These decrees are printed, under the title "Ordonnances des Intendants du Canada", in *Edits et Ordonnances*, II. 257-421.

² *Ibid.*, I. 326.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 440.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 444.

⁶ Raudot to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1707, *Correspondance Générale*, XXVI. 9 et seqq.

⁷ See, for example, *Edits et Ordonnances*, III. 176, 197, 216, 217, 284, 436, etc.

attention. That jealousy of industrial development which marked the policy of England toward her American colonies seems never to have characterized the policy of France toward Canada. It is of course true that in New France industry was such a puny infant that it gave the mother-land no cause for fear. At any rate the French government strove very earnestly to foster it by encouragements of various sorts, and committed the application of these stimulating agencies to the hands of the intendant. From time to time this official brought to the notice of the king the specific industrial needs of his colony, and rarely without meeting with ready response. Different intendants plied the patient sovereign with requests for tilers, brickmakers, potters, iron-workers, glass-makers, weavers, and so on; while one, less definite in his requests, asked for "all sorts of artisans". They also desired materials with which to get industries started. Champigny requested supplies of hemp-seed and flaxseed, in order that the raw materials of industry might be raised in the colony.¹ Hocquart asked for some fanning-mills, that the quality of flour produced in the seigniorial mills might be improved.² More often the intendant desired that some enterprising colonial might be assured of a monopoly in return for undertaking to start some particular industry. Still oftener the king was asked for a money bonus by his zealous agent, who never failed to point out how easy it would be for a certain industry to make progress were it only established. Under the spur of these various encouragements, one enterprising colonial established a tannery, another a hat factory, a third a shoemaking industry, and others started establishments for the making of potash and the curing of fish. Talon, who is often called the "Colbert of New France", was especially energetic, both by stimulus and by example, in promoting industry. With his private means he built a brewery at Quebec, besides establishing a tar manufactory and assisting in the promotion of various other enterprises.³ Of the other intendants, Raudot and Hocquart were conspicuous for their vigorous attempts to foster colonial industry.⁴

Despite these various encouragements, however, colonial industry would not thrive: in every case the enterprise seemed to fash when the royal pap was withdrawn. It is true that the benefits of en-

¹ Champigny to Minister, November 6, 1688, *Correspondance Générale*, VI. 389.

² Hocquart to Minister, October 4, 1731, *ibid.*, LIV. 43.

³ Chapais, *Jean Talon*, ch. xvi. The personal enthusiasm and enterprise of the intendant were strongly praised by Governor Frontenac in one of his despatches to the minister. See Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, *Correspondance Générale*, III. 327.

⁴ Cf. Claude Marie Raudot, *Deux Intendants du Canada sous Louis XIV.* (Auxerre, 1854), *passim*.

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couragement were too often offset by the stringent police regulations imposed on the methods of industry; but the main obstacle was found in the superior profits of the fur-trade, which by its greater lucrativeness and its irresistible fascination drew into its vortex the best and most enterprising part of the colonial population.

Financial Powers.—In France one of the main duties of the provincial intendant was connected with the levy and collection of direct taxes. In the different classes of provinces (*pays d'état* and *pays d'élection*) his powers of supervision differed somewhat; but in general he was responsible for the collection of the imposts and for their transmission to Paris.¹ In New France, however, no direct taxes, either *taille* or *capitation*, were ever imposed; hence the intendant had no work in this direction. It is true that, by intendant's decree, special assessments were occasionally levied for the building of churches, presbyteries, roads, bridges, and fortifications; but these can scarcely be looked upon as constituting a system of direct taxation.

The colony of New France had, however, a system of indirect taxes levied both upon imports and upon exports. Down to 1748 taxes upon imports were confined to spirituous liquors and tobacco, while taxes upon exports were restricted to furs and hides. In 1748, however, a royal edict provided for the imposition of a uniform tax of three per cent. upon all other imports and exports, with the exception of certain enumerated commodities.² The immediate work of collecting these duties was in the hands of farmers of the revenue, but over their operations the intendant was supposed to maintain a watchful eye, preventing overcharges and hearing complaints in general. The amount paid into the colonial treasury from this *ferme du Canada* was almost invariably much below what was needed for the current expenditure of the colony. Consequently the king found it necessary each year to make good a substantial deficit, which was met partly by the despatch of money and goods to the colony, and partly by the issue of bills of exchange drawn by the intendant upon Paris and paid out of the royal treasury.

¹ Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.*, ch. vii.

² *Edits et Ordonnances*, I. 591 et seqq. A good summary of the revenue system of New France is printed under the title: "An Account of the Duties that were paid in the Province of Quebec during the French Government thereof, on Brandy, Rum, and Wine, imported into the said Province, and on Dry Goods imported into, and exported out of, the same", in François Masères's *Collection of several Commissions . . . and other Papers relating to . . . Quebec* (London, 1772), No. 33.

Year by year the intendant sent home itemized accounts showing particulars of revenue and expenditure.¹

The intendant also acted as the general distributing and purchasing agent of the crown in the colony. It was customary, each autumn, to send home a list of the stores required for the maintenance of the forces in the country; and these supplies the home government forwarded in the following spring. On arrival at Quebec such stores were distributed under the supervision of the intendant to the various royal storekeepers, from whom they could be had by officers commanding the forces on presentation of the necessary requisitions. Since, however, the demand could not always be accurately stated in advance, it very frequently happened that things were needed which had not been sent out from France. In such cases the necessary supplies were purchased in the colony. The method of securing these differed somewhat from time to time, but during the last few decades preceding the loss of Canada it was the practice to permit officers commanding military posts or military expeditions to secure such additional supplies from merchants or traders by giving signed requisitions in return. These requisitions were then signed by the merchant, the local commissary, the commissary-general, and finally by the intendant, who made payment either in money or by giving bills of exchange on Paris—usually in the latter way. The requisitions were then kept by the intendant as vouchers, but there seems to have been no regular system of auditing them. Still, they passed through so many hands that fraud or extortion was scarcely possible without collusion on the part of several officials.²

Down to 1748 it does not appear that there was any marked corruption or dishonesty among the civil officials of the colony;³ but with the arrival of Bigot in that year a veritable carnival of speculation was inaugurated. Bigot proceeded to fill all the subordinate offices with men as dishonest as himself, so that fraudulent requisi-

¹ Many of these are preserved in the Correspondance Générale. They are, however, very complicated and difficult to analyze.

² Different intendants varied the system of distributing and purchasing supplies to such an extent that it is not easy to give an accurate outline of the methods pursued. Many details are given in the *Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice, Police, Finance, et Marine en Canada* (Paris, 1763), especially in part III.; in Antoine de Bougainville's "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle France, à l'époque de la Guerre de Sept Ans", printed by Pierre Margry in his *Relations et Mémoires Inédits* (Paris, 1867), 37-84; and in the various despatches of Montcalm, Vaudreuil, and Bigot during the years preceding the conquest.

³ An anonymous "Mémoire sur l'état présent du Canada", dated February 15, 1712, and preserved in the Archives of the Marine, accuses the intendant, Jacques Raudot, of carrying on a private trade in wheat and salt. Correspondance Générale, XXXIII. 381. Complaints of this sort were, however, very rare.

tions might be readily certified. It was his aim to secure from France only a small portion of the supplies required for the colony, and to buy as much as possible in Canada. Most of the needed stores were purchased from the establishment of one Clavierie at Quebec, a firm in which Bigot and many of his subordinates were silent partners and in the profits of which they shared largely. This establishment, popularly known as "La Friponne", had its branch at Montreal, and during the last ten years of French rule supplied goods to the amount of many millions of livres for the use of the troops. The stores were inferior and the prices charged were outrageously extortionate. The people of the colony were forced by intendant's ordinance to sell their grain to the Friponne at fixed prices, and the establishment then resold it to the king at famine rates. Bigot's dishonesty further appeared in his practice of letting contracts for the construction of public works, for the transportation of troops, and for various other public services, to favored contractors, who set their own prices and then disgorged part of their plunder to the intendant and his friends in high places. In fact, all the higher civil officials in the colony seem to have vied with one another in the work of turning public funds into private fortunes; and the amount of bills of exchange sent home annually ran up into the millions. The annals of colonial administration probably afford no parallel to the corruption of Bigot's intendency. It was, however, only after the loss of the colony, when the intendant and a score or more of his subordinates were placed on trial in France, that the enormity of their peculations was completely disclosed.¹

An additional temptation in the pathway of an intendant lay in the fact that to him was committed general charge of the system of colonial currency. In the early days, funds to pay the expenses of the colony were sent out in coin; but in 1685 these annual funds failed to arrive, and Meulles, "not knowing to what saint to make his prayers", hit upon the expedient of issuing a temporary card currency to serve until the coined money should come to hand. The experiment proved so disastrously successful that from time to time later intendants made successive issues, until the card money became a permanent factor in the colonial stock of circulating media. These

¹The proceedings in the trial of Bigot, Péan, and others were subsequently published at Paris. They consist of a dozen or more *Procès, Mémoires, Réponses*, and other documents, the most elaborate of which is that containing the defense of Bigot, which fills over a thousand closely-printed pages. It was from these that Parkman drew his lucid account of the goings on at Quebec during the last decade of French dominion (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, II.). The interesting story of "La Friponne" is told in William Kirby's *Chien d'Or* (New York, 1878).

cards were issued and signed by the intendant;¹ and in periods of military storm and stress, when expenses were extraordinarily heavy, the temptation to issue them in large quantities was naturally too great to be resisted. Through overissues and tardiness in redemption the card money depreciated so much in value that, during the years just prior to Wolfe's victory, the luckless colony fairly floundered in the slough of inconvertible paper. With the exception of Bigot, however, none of the intendants seem to have used the power of issuing card money to their own enrichment.²

Taken as a whole, the powers of the Canadian intendant were very extensive—vastly more extensive, indeed, than were those of any other official in the colony. His discretionary power was wide, and the great distance which separated him from his only superiors at Versailles made it necessary that he should use this power constantly and extensively. With a single important exception, the eleven intendants who actually performed the duties of their office in New France exercised their wide powers with moderation and judgment as well as with honesty. Duchesneau showed himself somewhat too combative in temperament, but it must be borne in mind that Frontenac afforded him ample provocation. Dupuy was rather untactful in his relations with his colleagues; and Beauharnois was scarcely long enough in the colony to permit one to judge of his capabilities as an administrator. Talon, Champigny, Meulles, Raudot, Bégon, and Hocquart, however, were all men who rose well to the responsibilities of their post. The first and last named not only possessed in a high degree both administrative skill and enthusiasm for the royal interests, but gave freely of their private means for the advancement of those interests.³ It is therefore hardly fair to say

¹ Some idea of the extent of the issues may be had from the fact that in 1730 some two thousand packs of cards were used. The intendant, Hocquart, in one of his despatches complained that the task of signing so many cards was tedious and that this work occupied the larger part of his spare time. After 1733 the intendant was relieved of this work, the card money henceforth bearing only the signature of the controller of the marine at Quebec.

² In addition to the card money, treasury notes for larger denominations were issued. Bigot, in 1748, arranged that these should be printed, and issued them in large quantities. The whole question of the currency system of the French period in Canada is elaborately discussed in Adam Shortt's articles on "Canadian Currency and Exchange under French Rule", in *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*, 1898-1899, V. 271, 385, VI. 1, 147, 233; James Stevenson's "Card Money in Canada during the French Domination", Quebec Literary and Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1873-1875, pp. 84-112; Lareau's "Monnaie de Cartes au Canada", *Revue de Montréal*, II. 433-438; and N. E. Dionne's "La Monnaie Canadienne sous le Régime Français", in *Revue Canadienne*, XXIX. 30-32, 72-83.

³ Hocquart, it is recorded, furnished from his own means the funds for the erection of the church at Tadoussac in 1747. See Coquart's journal, in R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, LXIX. 137.

that "the intendant was quite apt to be a rare rascal",¹ because one man in a line of a dozen proved himself so conspicuously unworthy of the trust imposed in him by his sovereign at a critical time. Bigot's picturesque depravity has served too well to draw the attention of the casual student away from the faithful plodding of his honest predecessors in office.

The post of colonial intendant was almost unique in the scope of powers committed to it, and in the heavy demands constantly made alike upon the firmness, impartiality, tact, and integrity of its occupants. The more one studies both the office and the men, the more will one be impressed by the large and effective part played by the intendants in the drama of the old régime.

W. B. MUNRO.

¹ Thwaites, *France in America* (New York, 1905), 134.

CANNING AND THE SPANISH PATRIOTS IN 1808

The attitude taken up by a great statesman towards any event of world-wide importance must always be a matter of interest; and interest is heightened when he is comparatively new to office and when the circumstances which call for his decision are complex and unprecedented. No apology need therefore be made for an attempt to elucidate the occurrences which brought Great Britain and the Spanish patriots to an informal but effective alliance in the year 1808, and largely owing to the exertions of Canning.

In the pages of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* it is needless to describe the events which led to the intervention of Napoleon in the affairs of the Peninsula in the period September, 1807—May, 1808. It may also be taken for granted that readers of this article are familiar with the consequences of his action toward the Spanish dynasty and the Spanish nation. As soon as the news of his treatment of Ferdinand VII., *de facto* king of Spain, became known throughout the Peninsula, the people, with comparatively few exceptions, rose against the government which he sought to impose and requested help from its nominal enemy, Great Britain. The rising, though national in its universality, was provincial in the manner of its manifestation. The intense individuality of the provinces and the difficulty attending concerted action, seeing that Madrid and many other important centres were occupied by French troops, helped to determine the course of the whole movement. In intensity and savagery it resembled a *Jacquerie*; in the bigoted hatred displayed against the French and their partizans the patriots showed themselves to be the true scions of the men who fought under the Duke of Alba; and it will ever be matter for question whether Spain would not have benefited by submitting to Napoleon and to his brother, Joseph Bonaparte. Submission, however, was impossible. Reforms were spurned when offered by the man who had deeply insulted Spanish pride; and the fact that deputies from three provinces of Spain—Asturias, Galicia, and Andalusia—set sail almost simultaneously to appeal for aid from England shows the depth of the animosity against the French emperor after his behavior at Bayonne.

The deputies of the little principality of Asturias were the first to reach London. Those of Galicia and Andalusia soon followed.

There is unfortunately no account in the archives of the British Foreign Office respecting their interview with Canning. From unofficial sources we know that their reception by the populace was extremely cordial; and it was a foregone conclusion that Canning, who had watched the politics of the Peninsula with the most eager interest, would avail himself of the alliance now proffered by the Spanish people. Whether he had any difficulty in overcoming the scruples of the king, always punctilious in matters of diplomatic procedure, is not known. The discussions in the Cabinet are veiled in secrecy; but it may be taken for granted that the ministers were practically of one mind, seeing that the official declaration ordering the cessation of hostilities against Spain appeared on July 4, 1808. Parliament was virtually unanimous in approving this change of policy.

The archives of the British Foreign Office yield nothing of interest on this subject before July 6, 1808. On that day Canning issued instructions to Mr. Charles Stuart directing him to proceed to Corunna on board of H. M. S. *Alcmene*, along with Don Joachim Freire, one of the deputies of the "Kingdom" of Galicia.¹ The despatch continues in these words:

On your arrival at Corunna, Mr [sic] Freire will present you to the several members of the Provisional Government of Galicia, who will be apprized by their deputies in London of your appointment and of the nature of the duties which you are to fulfil. You will take the earliest opportunity to inform the Provisional Government that on board of the *Alcmene* is the sum of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling in Spanish dollars, which His Majesty is pleased to advance by way of loan to the Galician Government and which you are ready to deliver over to any person who may be duly authorized to receive the same.

Stuart is then directed to carry on communications between Spain and the British government and to furnish all the news possible. Mr. Hunter, who was sent to Gijon to act as British consul for the principality, or province, of Asturias, was charged to supply him with information from that quarter. The following sentences at the close of the despatch are of interest as showing Canning's desire for united action in Spain:

You will give it distinctly to be understood that you have no authority to enter into any political engagements and that if any proposals of such a nature should be made to you, you can do no more than transmit them to His Majesty's Govt. for their consideration.

If the Government of Galicia should express any desire that H. M. should appoint an accredited agent to reside at Corunna, you will represent to them the inconvenience which would arise from accrediting

¹ Don Joachim Freire must not be confused with Mr. Hookham Freere, who in October, 1808, was appointed British envoy to the central junta of Spain.

such a number of persons as it would be necessary to send to the different provinces of Spain. You will however assure them that whenever these provinces shall be united so as to constitute a general provisional govt. H. M. will lose no time in sending an accredited Minister to reside at the seat of government wherever it may be fixed. . . . If unfortunately the affairs of Spain should assume an unfavourable aspect, and the French armies should be advancing into Galicia, you will provide for your personal safety by taking refuge on board any of H. M.'s Ships of war.

These sentences, I may remark in passing, tend to disprove the assertions of Sir William Napier that the British Ministry eagerly complied with every suggestion made by the delegates of the provincial juntas of Asturias, Galicia, and Andalusia, and that (to quote his words) :

Discarding all prudent considerations, and entering into formal relations with every knot of Spanish politicians assuming the title of a supreme junta, the government dealt with unsparing hands, enormous supplies at the demand of those self-elected authorities.¹

On the contrary, it appears that from the very first Canning, who was the executant of the Cabinet, tried to take all possible precautions against the multiplication of envoys to Spain; the sequel will show that he was by no means prone to grant all the demands of the delegates named above.

Canning's next despatch to Stuart, dated July 13, 1808, informed him of the sending of 160,294 dollars by H. M. S. *Dryad* for the use of the authorities in Galicia—a sum which would complete the sum of 1,000,000 dollars originally designed for that purpose. The despatch of this sum would, said Canning, remove the objections raised by Don Joachim Freire as to delay. On July 27 Canning wrote to Hunter and to Stuart, stating that Mr. Duff was sent to Cadiz to resume his position as British consul at that place and with a view to entering into communication with the junta of Seville. He again impressed on Hunter the supreme need of union between the Spanish provinces. It will be well to quote his own words, inasmuch as they refute another charge levelled by Napier against him to the following effect :

The English cabinet was indeed sanguine, and yet the ministers, while anticipating success in a preposterous manner, displayed little industry and less judgment in their preparations for the struggle.²

We have already seen that Canning faced the probability that the French forces might penetrate even to Corunna. Let us now

¹ Sir William F. P. Napier, *The War in the Peninsula*, vol. I., book 11., ch. 1.

² *Ibid.*, book 111., ch. 1.

see what he said with respect to the building up of a new national fabric in Spain. In the despatch of July 27 already referred to he urged Hunter to discourage in every way the separate action of Asturias, not only because such action on the part of all the provinces would embarrass the British government, but also because it would be productive of disunion in Spain. Both Galicia and Asturias had raised their demands for pecuniary help:

Both [deputies] profess, in conversation, to include a provision for the interests of Leon and Old Castile in the demands which they bring forward. But this has not prevented a direct application from Leon; and it is obvious that if the remaining provinces of Spain, from whom no separate or joint application has been made, were to come forward with demands in anything like the proportion of those already received, not only the material means of supplying such demands in specie must be (as they are now nearly) exhausted, but even the credit and resources of this country could hardly answer such accumulated demands.

He then stated that England could not possibly furnish more than 100,000 muskets, exclusive of those already sent with Sir Arthur Wellesley.

In a second draft of the same date Canning informed Hunter that the claims of the junta of Seville to supreme authority in Spain were partly acquiesced in by the deputation from Galicia and Asturias then at London, claims "which their personal rank and qualifications [*i. e.*, those of the deputies of Andalusia], their experience and knowledge of business, are in other respects well calculated to confirm". He further expressed the hope that the delegations from Galicia and Asturias might be withdrawn—though it was a very delicate matter to arrange—so that the junta at Seville might establish a government which would be regarded as the central authority. In order to facilitate the departure of the deputies sent from the north-west of Spain, Canning suggested that the two provinces above named might send in their place military men to confer on questions of defense and succor. But he did not insist on a matter which obviously required very cautious treatment. I may here remark that the Seville junta had from the first taken a spirited lead. It recounted the injuries and insults inflicted by Napoleon and by his troops; it urged the need of the assembling of the Cortes in order to show the world that Spaniards could reform their own affairs without the need of intervention on the part of "the vile French"; and suggested the forming of juntas in every town and district for the organization of national defense. But, far from assuming direct control of these local efforts, it suggested that each province should at first manage its own affairs, civil and military; but that these

last should be placed under the control of a generalissimo. Thus the primacy claimed by the great province of the south was one of suggestion and initiative rather than of direct control. No other course was possible in a land where the provincial spirit was so strong, and where Madrid and other central points were strongly held by the French. It is clear, however, that Canning was always apprehensive of Spanish provincialism, and that the British agents whom he sent out struggled persistently to bring about the formation of a central government.

The difficulties in their way were enormous, as may be seen by despatches sent to Canning by Stuart. The British envoy, who enjoyed an authority superior to that of Hunter or Duff, reported on July 21 that on his arrival at Corunna on the previous day, Sir Arthur Wellesley and he met with a most enthusiastic welcome both from the junta of Galicia and the populace of the town. The people were not dispirited or dismayed because of the severe defeat inflicted on Cuesta and Blake by Bessières at Rio Seco on July 14; for opposed to the French stood the relics of the Spanish forces; and the mountains of Galicia would be a safe barrier in case of further misfortunes in the field. The following sentences in Stuart's first despatch are especially noteworthy:

No wish for military succour on our part has been manifested by any individual of the Junta with whom I have conversed; they declare that the population of Galicia (which they state to be no less than two million) is fully adequate to supply their waste of men; they say that money and arms are all the country stands in need of to ensure a successful continuance of the war.

He states that no sure news had arrived from other parts of Spain though there were rumors of victories gained over the French at Saragossa, as also in the provinces of Valencia and Andalusia. Stuart adds: "The excessive enthusiasm of every individual I have yet seen induces them to believe whatever may be reported in their favour, however improbable". There is something ironical in the fact that Stuart penned these words on the very day when 23,700 Frenchmen and Swiss under Dupont surrendered to the Andalusian forces at Baylen.

On July 28 Stuart forwarded to his chief further proofs of the strength of provincial feelings in the north of Spain. Galicia, Asturias, and Leon, he wrote, could not agree as to the number of deputies which each of those provinces should send to a common junta, the meeting of which was strongly urged by the British envoy. Feelings ran high between Cuesta and the deputies of Leon and

Asturias; while the men of Leon were furious at the retreat of Blake. He further inclosed a letter sent by Bessières to Blake after the battle of Rio Seco, in which the French marshal urged the Spaniard to insure harmony between the Spanish and French troops, and invited him "à rentrer dans l'ordre". Blake took no notice of this offer.¹ The news of Dupont's surrender, which reached Corunna on August 1, did not facilitate the task of union of the three provinces of the northwest. In vain did Stuart urge the despatch of Blake's army southward to the Portuguese frontier in order to prevent a possible union of Bessières with Junot to the detriment of the British force which had just landed near the mouth of the river Mondego. Blake remained inactive; and Stuart's despatches show the reason for his inaction, namely, that his army had no cavalry and was composed almost entirely of raw recruits, who would have been crushed by Bessières but for the retreat of that marshal, necessitated by the news of the French disaster at Baylen. As for civil affairs, Stuart reported that they were more and more entangled. The intriguing bishop of St. Jago had come to Corunna and was found to be in secret correspondence with Blake, whereupon he was ordered to leave the town. The junta tried to induce the able and popular bishop of Orense to join it, but he for some time refused; and his refusal (wrote Stuart) imperilled the very existence of that body. On August 7 the British envoy summed up his opinions on the situation in the northwest of Spain in terms which deserve quotation almost *in extenso*:

CORUNNA Aug. 7. 1808.

... The government of every part of Spain is at present without exception in the hands of the provincial nobility, or more strictly speaking the gentry of the country, aided by a few persons, who, having formerly held situations in the Ministry at Madrid, had for various reasons retired long since to the provinces. No individual distinguished in the capital for rank, power, or riches has stood forth in support of the cause of Ferdinand VII. Some general officers of merit and reputation are indeed employed in the patriotic armies, but we look in vain for the names of those who have hitherto held the highest military commands; they have been happy to remain tranquil, though many have embraced the party of Joseph Bonaparte, and many have fallen victims to the ferocity of the mob; the names of Solano, Helos, Filangieri, are among the latter; while Campo d'Alauze, Negriti, O'Farrill and Masaredo, have joined the French.

The Provincial nobility naturally feel strong local attachments, and are less interested in the general cause than in the welfare of their own particular province. Hence difficulties have arisen impeding the assembly of a general Cortez: those who have enjoyed the advantage of

¹ Blake was of Irish descent, but his family had long been domiciled in Spain.

supreme authority and the exercise of power are unwilling to become the mere organ through whom the orders of a superior body shall be executed. The satisfaction of providing for dependents and relations has likewise biased many very patriotic men, and induces them to find out specious arguments in favour of their own provinces, though prejudicial to the general interests of the State. Every Junta desires that the Cortez shall be established near their own firesides [*sic*], and many, anxious to retain their consequence, wish to increase the number of deputies from their provinces sufficiently to depute every member of their own body to that assembly, and thus, by incorporating themselves in the national representation, to retain their power.

Stuart then states that innumerable jealousies had arisen from these causes, and he advises that His Majesty's government should remonstrate with the Spanish deputies in London and insist on the speedy union of the Cortes, and suggest also

that the assembly of that body besides causing the formal recognition of the independence of the whole peninsula might operate to induce H. M.'s Government to contribute much more efficaciously to their assistance. I have written to the principal people in every province which has any communication with this place to urge very strongly the necessity of union and a supreme government. I not only spoke fully to the Junta on the subject, but gave them my arguments in writing.

He then states that there was much heat and violence of feeling at Corunna, but that finally the bishop of Orense had agreed to join the junta of Galicia. The French were, however, very weak, their chief force being at Burgos. It was now suggested that British troops should land at Santander, but Stuart thought this dangerous, as it was too near to France and the Spaniards were too full of divisions to afford much help. He continues:

The Asturians have in vain asked for artillery from the depots in Galicia: and the Stores landed at Gihon and not used by the Asturians, have remained at that port and in Oviedo, altho' they would have afforded a seasonable relief to the army of Genl. Blake. . . . The French have omitted no offer to tempt the ambition and corrupt the integrity of the patriotic leaders: besides the letter to Genl. Blake, they have addressed every other person invested with command. Marshal Bessières offered Genl. Cuesta the vice-royalty of the Mexico if he would consent to abandon the cause he had espoused; the latter however did not condescend to return an answer to the proposal. . . . It is most lucky that the division of the French force has kept pace with the division of their opponents; their losses must have taught them, however, that they were in error; and they appear now to be about to adopt a contrary system: if therefore these people do not unite their political and military means, and teach their men to act in great bodies, it will not be easy for them to maintain the advantages they have so fortunately gained. Having in some degree moderated the dissensions among them, I daily enlarge on the necessity of attention to their federal interests; but the province

of Galicia and its government does [*sic*] not appear to be respected by the rest of Spain; and, placed as I am at the very extremity of the Kingdom, I fear it will be difficult to render service unless I approach the centre of the Peninsula; which I am unwilling to do without directions from home.

To revert to military affairs, it may be of interest to quote from a letter written by General Blake to the president of the junta of Galicia, in which that commander expressed the hope that a British force would soon land in the north of Spain, either at Corunna or at Santander. The letter, dated August 15 at Astorga, was forwarded by Stuart to Canning. In it Blake stated that he had heard news portending the arrival of a British force of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry in the north of Spain; and he referred to the matter in terms which marked him off sharply from the presumptuous civilians of the junta of Galicia, who scouted the thought of British help save in money and stores. Blake expected the British cavalry to land at Corunna, the infantry disembarking at Santander, where it would threaten the French communications between Burgos and the Pyrenees. On the whole, however, he preferred that the British expedition should come to Gijon, the chief port of Asturias, where it would form

an imposing mass capable of undertaking very important operations, even in the event of the march of the [Spanish] army from Andalusia being retarded. . . . Your Highness will see the importance of preparing in abundance provisions for the English on the road from Corunna, and barley, oats, grass and straw for their horses, remembering that the soldiers of that nation are little sparing and accustomed to much meat at their meals, an object which it is luckily not difficult to provide in Galicia. It is equally necessary that there should not be wanting on the route all the waggons that may be requisite for transporting the baggage and effects. For all which, as for providing quarters, it is indispensable that Your Highness should send out some respectable active and confidential persons commissioned by you. If the winds and naval combinations should not allow of the infantry being conveyed to Asturias without a considerable delay, the whole disembarkation must necessarily take place at Coruna, but the reasons for preferring the former point [*sic*] are of great weight. God preserve Your Highness many years.

(Signed) JOAQUIN BLAKE.

In his next despatches, written at Corunna between August 9 and August 22, Stuart reported the continuance of the dispute between the juntas of Leon and Galicia, while the latter body now refused to admit the supremacy of the junta of Seville. He added that the claim of Andalusia to take precedence arose, in part at least, from the custom of the four kingdoms of Andalusia styling them-

selves collectively España—"a term which strictly does not extend to the other provinces of the Peninsula". In the important matter of commerce Stuart took steps which facilitated the import of British goods, not only into Spain, but also into her South-American colonies. He described on August 22 the difficulties experienced by British trading-vessels, which, having put into Corunna, found all entry for their cargoes barred by the almost prohibitive tariff adopted by Spain in 1806. They were about to weigh anchor; but Stuart used his influence with the authorities, who thereupon promised to revise a tariff drawn up in the interests of France and in a sense hostile to Great Britain. In a very short space of time the necessary alterations were made in the tariff, the duty on baizes (the chief British export to Corunna) being reduced from thirty-two per cent. *ad valorem* to sixteen per cent.; while that on coarse cloths was lowered to twelve per cent. In the far more important sphere of South-American trade Stuart sought to gain favorable terms in place of the prohibitive régime previously existing. He sounded various persons who were about to sail to those colonies, and especially Admiral Hindrobo, who was proceeding to Buenos Ayres as viceroy *ad interim*. Stuart's influence (so he averred) had been partly instrumental in procuring this appointment for the admiral; and when, on the twenty-fourth, it appeared that the proclamation drawn up by the Galician junta to those colonies was long, dull, and one-sided (no mention being made of the help afforded by Great Britain to Spain), the new viceroy proffered the assurance that he would suppress that document and replace it by a fairer and more spirited manifesto. Clearly Stuart excelled in the arts of intrigue, and was by no means prone to depreciate his own services; but it may be conceded that, in opening up to British merchants trade with the north of Spain and indirectly with South America, he rendered very great service to his country. The United Kingdom was then feeling severely the constricting grip of the continental system, the efficacy of which had been nearly doubled by the treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807). British trade with the Baltic ports, except those of Sweden, could thenceforth filter in only by indirect channels; but the opening of many harbors of Spain and Portugal, and a little later of their colonies, made up for the loss sustained in the north. It is hardly too much to say that Canning's intervention in Spain brought about results in the spheres of politics and commerce which might be summed up in his later magniloquent phrase: "I called in the New World to redress the balance in the Old World."

In one matter Stuart drew on himself a sharp rebuke from his

chief. He had used phrases in one of his despatches which Canning interpreted as committing Great Britain to the sending of a military force into the north of Spain. Canning on August 30 penned a strong remonstrance to the envoy for holding out any hopes in that direction, assigning as his chief reason that the Spanish deputies then in London

showed a manifest disinclination to the sending into Spain of any British military force whatever, and received every intimation of a disposition to make that effort in a manner which rather justified the conclusion that it would be disagreeable to the feelings of the Spanish nation—feelings which His Majy. was determined in every instance to respect. The Spanish deputies concurred in pointing out Portugal as the most eligible destination for an useful and effective application of whatever force His Majy. could employ for the support of Spain, as being the point best calculated for preventing the otherwise probable attempt of Junot to reinforce the French armies in Spain; and as placing His Maj.'s troops, after a successful occupation of Lisbon, in a situation to keep open the communication between the northern and southern provinces of Spain and to afford support to the one or the other, as either might appear to stand in need of it. This reasoning, which was that of the Spanish deputies themselves, was also that of all the military authorities by which the determination of His Majy. was guided.

Canning then stated that no division of the British expedition would be allowed until Portugal was "thoroughly cleared of the French armies"; that the Spanish deputies later on had begged for cavalry for their army of the north, but had not gained their request; and no such request would be listened to unless it came from the junta through Stuart. The War Office had sent Major-general Broderick and Major-general Leith to collect news on military matters in Galicia and Asturias, but they had no further powers.

Somewhat later Stuart was able to show that he had in no way favored the despatch of a British army into the north of Spain. For the present his efforts were directed to the task of uniting the juntas of Galicia, Asturias, and Leon, with a view to the formation of a national union, though he found that the autocratic views of the Seville junta were disapproved by the more democratic people of the northwest. The three juntas of the northwestern provinces finally agreed to meet at Lugo. It was hoped that, when Estremadura joined them, they would transfer their sessions to Sória, and would there await the deputies from Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. The final union, that with the southern provinces, was expected to take place at Guadalajara, where the now truly national Cortes would elect a regency of eight persons to exercise the functions of government in the name of Ferdinand VII. That town

was preferred to Madrid, owing to the turbulence of the lower classes at the capital.

Asturias refused to join its neighbors; but the accession of Castile gave to the union of the northern provinces an enhanced importance. At the first meeting of the united juntas of Galicia, Castile, and Leon, held on August 29, the president of the last-named province was chosen to act as president for the month: he at once proposed that each province should choose two deputies to represent it in the supreme junta. Despite the opposition of Galicia to a proposal which rendered nugatory all the further discussions at Lugo, it was carried by twenty-four votes as against six dissentients. On being asked to take part in the discussion, Stuart complied and spoke, though somewhat guardedly, in favor of a national union based on constitutional methods. About ten days later the deputies selected for these duties proceeded toward Madrid; and Stuart, on the request of Don Antonio, accompanied them. On his arrival at Valladolid, he found intrigues afoot, started by the old and discredited council of Castile with a view to the restoration of its power. At Segovia on September 15 he had an interview with General Cuesta, who was there with about 12,000 troops. The general admitted that national union could alone put an end to the existing anarchy, one result of which was that the northern provinces had kept all the money and supplies sent from England for the common cause, and that he had received nothing. Stuart departed for Madrid with the conviction that Cuesta would help on the unionist movement; but, on arriving at the capital, he heard that the general had arrested Don Antonio and other deputies at Segovia, on the pretext that their election was illegal or irregular. Against this tyrannical action Stuart protested most strongly, and countermanded the order for the sending of supplies and stores to Cuesta's army. Ultimately the deputies from nearly all the provincial juntas met at Aranjuez, and there was some talk of depriving Cuesta of his command for this insult to the deputies of the nation; but even the central junta hesitated to take a step which might possibly have led Cuesta to march against them. This episode, and many others which must be omitted for lack of space, show the unheard-of difficulties which faced the new deputies. Even the retreat of the French into Navarre tended to increase the complexity of the civic problems; for it puffed up the Spaniards with a pride which made them almost impervious to argument. The escape of nearly the whole of Romaña's corps from the shores of Denmark on British ships tended to enhance the influence of the British envoy at Aranjuez; but that influence was for a time

eclipsed on the receipt of the news of the so-called "Convention of Cintra" (August 30, 1808). It may be well to publish here the despatch which Stuart sent to Canning on September 26, protesting against the terms of that compact, by the fifth article of which Junot's corps was to be transported to France on British vessels without any stipulation forbidding its use in the present war:

Sir,

Lord William Bentinck arrived here yesterday, bringing with him a copy of the capitulation concluded with the French at Lisbon.

Although it is necessary to maintain a strict silence towards the Government here upon that subject, I think it my duty not only to call your attention to the consequences that will indubitably result from that measure in the present situation of the armies of this country, but to require you for the sake of the public service to do whatever may be in your power to retard the execution.

The Spanish force amounting to 80000 men and consisting chiefly of armed peasants, occupies the following points: Palafox with the Arragonese at Sanguessa, Llanas with the Valencians at Tarragona, Castaños with the Andalusians etc at Soria: Cuesta with the army of Castile at Burgos de Osma: Blake with the Galicians at Reynosa.

These troops, however well disposed, are ill armed and worse clothed, wholly without shoes, and being for the greater part unaccustomed to the cold climate of the Pyrenees, it is not surprising that illness manifests itself amongst them in the present rainy season.

The French have 45,000 men concentrated in Navarre near Pampeluna, and along the Ebro. Their advanced posts are near Burgos. We know upon good authority that everything from the interior of France has marched to the Rhine, and consequently they can expect no succours from the Western Departments.¹

The arrival of 25,000 men, armed, clothed, and accustomed to the climate, in any part of the Bay of Biscay is the most deadly blow that can fall on this nation; and every means by which you can delay the departure of Junot's divisions, who are in fact succours sailing under our flag to the dispirited French army in the Pyrenees, will prove valuable to the cause of Spain.

The importance of retaining transports to send assistance to the weak points of our allies in Biscay and Catalonia, will not have escaped your observation; but the positive necessity of delaying the smallest portion of Junot's army is the more an object of consideration to ourselves, because, united with Jourdan, they will constitute a mass of effective force which our whole army in Portugal together with all the forces brought into the field by Spain will find it no easy matter to oppose again with hopes of success.

In his covering despatch of September 26 to Canning, Stuart

¹ This was exaggerated. Napoleon, while keeping a close watch upon Austria—it was the time of the Erfurt conference—was beginning to collect troops for the reconquest of Spain.

added these words :

This country [Spain] will have little cause to rejoice that the army set at liberty to act against them did not remain blocked up at Lisbon, from whence they had no possible chance of escaping by land.

This consideration seems to have escaped the notice of writers who, from Napier onward, have tried to defend the convention. Some of their arguments in its favor are not without weight in themselves; but they fail to meet the objection that Junot's position in Portugal was most precarious. After the retreat of Bessières from Leon to Burgos and the line of the Ebro, that marshal could no longer hope to succor the French in Portugal, as had seemed possible for a few days after the French victory of Rio Seco. To remove Junot's force from a position which was hopeless to one where it could soon render effective service was surely a piece of sheer folly. Yet Napier refused to consider this objection, and, with a violence of language which he frequently used, stigmatized the opposition to the convention in England as "the most outrageous and disgraceful public clamour ever excited by the falsehoods of venal political writers".¹ Canning was not of that opinion: he markedly dissociated himself from those who upheld the convention and the favorable verdict of the court of inquiry on the conduct of those who signed it; probably Stuart's despatch quoted above influenced his action in this affair. Apart from that, the despatch had no effect. Junot's first division set sail from Lisbon on September 15; and when Stuart was penning his protest at Madrid, preparations were nearly complete for sending away the last of the French troops, which left Portugal at the end of the month or early in October.

In his despatch of September 30 Stuart again dwelt on the gloom and annoyance caused by the escape of Junot's corps; but those feelings had not lessened the feeling of confidence still prevalent in Spain, as may be seen by the following extract :

All here [at Aranjuez] appear of opinion that, if their measures should be successful in Navarre, and they should be sufficiently strong to obtain the passes of the Pyrenees, that [sic] it will be expedient to transfer the theatre of war wholly to Catalonia, and from thence to attack the French frontier in conformity to the old plan of General Urutia and the opinion of many general officers, that offensive operations can be carried on with greater advantages on the canal of Languedoc than on any other part of the French frontier.

Seeing that Stuart had recently reported the determination of the supreme junta to intrust the control of military affairs to a com-

¹ Napier, *The War in the Peninsula*, vol. I., bk. II., ch. 6.

mittee of five men who were jointly to hold the portfolio of the war ministry, it is somewhat surprising that he took the Spanish forecast of events at all seriously. In any case, his despatches show the inevitableness of the overthrow of the Spaniards in the ensuing weeks, when Napoleon with a mighty army scattered their levies and sent their still discordant deputies flying to the extremities of the Peninsula. But the work of the British envoy was not wholly undone; he had helped in the formation of a national representative body; and that body and its successors, whatever their imperfections and follies (on which British historians have so complacently desecanted), enabled a seemingly moribund people to enter on a new lease of life and persistently to oppose Napoleon's schemes of domination. Canning's despatches also tend to disprove the charges of recklessness and insular selfishness which Napier laid to his count. The British Foreign Minister at first helped the Spanish provinces as provinces because they possessed the only governmental machinery then available; but he refused to recognize the provincial juntas, and sought by all possible means to further their union in a national assembly. The experiment broke down in 1808; but Canning undoubtedly pointed the way toward a course of action which was to prove successful in the year 1813. It is time that his memory should be cleared from the charges which have been brought against him by Napier and by other Francophil historians. To show from evidence, which must be regarded as the final court of appeal, the complexity of the task which faced him and his agents in the Peninsula, and the manner in which he and they sought to grapple with it, has been my aim in this article.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

THE TERRITORY OF COLORADO

It is commonly taken for granted that the Kansas-Nebraska legislation of 1854 settled the territorial question in the United States, and that the territorial question itself was only a single phase of the larger question of slavery. The tyranny of the slavery problem over the historical mind has completely subordinated the problem of the expansion of the agricultural West, the settlement of new areas, and the providing of adequate institutions of government for the citizens of the frontier. The erection of the territory of Colorado in 1861 is itself proof that slavery was not in its own day destructive of interest in all other topics, however it may have impeded their consideration, and is an illuminative precedent in showing the manner in which territorial problems have been forced upon Congress and ultimately adjusted.

The acquisition of the southwest at the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848 extended the legal frontier of the United States far beyond the frontier of actual settlement and compelled Congress to give serious thought to the subdivision of large and relatively uninhabited areas of public lands. The act of May 30, 1854, which has commonly been misunderstood as saying the last important word upon the territorial question, merely marked the end of the earliest period of preliminary adjustment. The residuum of the Louisiana purchase and the lands acquired through the Mexican War were at last distributed among two states, California and Texas, and four territories. The two territorial organizations of New Mexico and Utah covered the whole area between California and the Rocky Mountains, while the fortieth parallel divided most of the unorganized area east of the mountains into Kansas and Nebraska territories.

The distribution in effect at the end of the session of 1854 was only preliminary, and within three years Congress had begun to consider the division of three of these territories, Nebraska, Utah, and New Mexico, whose gigantic size precluded the rigorous execution of law by single territorial establishments. In the first session of the thirty-fifth Congress, 1857-1858, it was finally proposed to divide two of these territories, creating Arizona in the western end of New Mexico and Nevada in the western end of Utah;¹ while the next session brought a bill to erect Dakota in the northern end of

¹ *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 62, 2090.

Nebraska.¹ The division was required by various facts of population and migration. The location of the great Pacific trails, the discovery of silver-mines, the willingness to restrict the territory of the Mormons, all appear as inspiring a further subdivision of the scantily populated West.

The Congress of 1857-1858 passed no laws for the erection of new territories in the areas marked out in the debates. There is some internal evidence throughout these and later debates that the young sponsors of the new Republican party were interested in territorial development as a means of continuing the antislavery argument which all parties had agreed in 1854 to forget. But whatever may have been the motives underlying the agitation, the arguments make entirely clear the facts that the boundaries of 1854 were only temporary and that the great, shapeless territories must some day be divided. The session of 1857-1858 contented itself with the suggestion of two new territories of Nevada and Arizona; when the same Congress met for its second session in 1858-1859, two more new territorial projects, those of Dakota and Jefferson, had been added to its list.

In the migrations to the far West, beginning to be heavy in the forties, the two principal routes had branched from the Missouri River near its northern bend on the western boundary of the state of Missouri. From this point the northern or Oregon route had run westwardly along the Platte, the southern or Santa Fé route along the Arkansas. And at the one hundred and second meridian the two trails were already two hundred and fifty miles apart, and were deviating still further to the northwest and southwest respectively.² The angle between the trails covered the heart of the "great American desert", which Major Long had described in 1820 as utterly uninhabitable for man, and which men had since 1820 been willing to take at the word of the explorer. It was this uninviting, uninhabited area which in the fall of 1858 appeared before Congress. It demanded not a slicing up of existing great territories, but a new grouping of lands taken out of the crest of the Rockies and in part

¹ *Globe*, December 21, 1858, p. 159.

² An act of Congress of May 19, 1846, provided for the erection of forts along the Oregon route. Fort Kearney was established on the Platte 310 miles west of Fort Leavenworth, and Fort Laramie 337 miles beyond Fort Kearney, in 1848. *Ex. Doc.* 5, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 569, pp. 94, 225. Fort Kearney became the most important post on the northern route and was not abandoned until 1871. *House Ex. Doc.* 12, 43 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1164. Lieutenant-colonel William Gilpin was on July 20, 1847, detailed to a station near the crossing of the Arkansas to keep the peace along the Santa Fé trail. *Ex. Doc.* 1, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 136, 139.

from every one of the territories of the central and south west. To this area those who advocated the new project gave the name of the Territory of Jefferson.

Since the discovery of gold in California and the rush of the forty-niners along the overland trails there had always been bodies of prospectors scattered over the mountain region. Rumors of gold discoveries in the desert triangle had been heard early in the fifties, while the panic of 1857 sent fresh bands of men to try their luck in the great game. In the year 1858 numerous parties were exploring the lands between the Arkansas and the Platte, and the arrival at Omaha on January 5, 1859,¹ of several quills filled with gold-dust proved to the Missouri settlers that success had rewarded the prolonged search, and started a new westward movement of large proportions to the Pike's Peak country.

The city of Denver, named for the governor of Kansas territory, became the settlement around which the Pike's Peak country grouped itself in the winter of 1858-1859. Boulder and Golden, Colorado City and Pueblo became secondary centres, each situated as Denver was, at a point from which trade and travel branched from the great trails and entered the valleys leading to the mining-camps.²

As early as June, 1858, the forks of the South Platte and Cherry Creek were being examined by prospectors. As the summer and fall advanced more adventurers appeared; the names of Montana, Highland, Auraria, and St. Charles came to designate settlements in the vicinity of the forks; and by November the inclusive name of Denver was heard.³

In a governmental way the new camp of Denver was situated in Arapahoe County, Kansas. But Arapahoe County had never been organized, and remained only a name until after the legislature of Kansas abolished it in February, 1859.⁴ The settlers themselves saw from the start that the five hundred miles of trail between the diggings and the territorial capital forbade protection from as well

¹ *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, II. 315. One of the men mentioned as bringing the gold, Albert B. Steinberger, was elected a delegate to Congress by the Auraria meeting of November 6, 1858. He deserted his mission and never reached Washington. His later romantic career in a Pacific kingdom is described in *House Ex. Doc.* 161, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1691, 125 pp.

² An old military trail connecting Fort Union and Fort Laramie ran through some and within easy distance of all these towns. Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver, 1901), 229.

³ The best detailed account of these earliest settlements is found *ibid.*, 200 *et seqq.*

⁴ Helen G. Gill, "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas", *Kansas Historical Collections*, VIII. 452.

as interference by that government, and that their political salvation lay nearer home. They saw that four territorial governments were involved in the Pike's Peak country, and that the country was in itself an economic unit. It was this understanding which pressed upon Congress early in 1859 with a new territorial scheme, and which even earlier than this had produced a spontaneous political activity in the mountain camps.

The beginnings of Colorado politics are to be found in the movement originating in Denver in November, 1858, and culminating in the territorial organization of Jefferson in November, 1859. The origin seems to have been in a typical early snowfall that drove the miners into their cabins in November, 1858, and by enforcing idleness upon them gave an opportunity for talking politics.¹ Perhaps two hundred miners were in Denver when the snowfall came, of whom some thirty-five attended a meeting on November 6, and determined to erect a new government for the Pike's Peak country. "Just to think", wrote one of them, "that within two weeks of the arrival of a few dozen Americans in a wilderness, they set to work to elect a Delegate to the United States Congress, and ask to be set apart as a new Territory! But we are of a fast race and in a fast age and must prod along."² To secure an attention to their demand they chose one Hiram J. Graham to appear in their behalf at Washington, and one A. J. Smith to represent them in the legislature of Kansas.³ The arrival of these men in Omaha seems at once to have confirmed the report of the discovery of placer gold in the western streams and to have announced the birth of a new centre of population. Four months after this first election a new political whim struck Denver camp, and a set of local officers was chosen March 28, 1859, for Arapahoe County, Kansas, in spite of the fact that Kansas had on February 7, 1859, foreseen the coming emigration, reshaped Arapahoe, and cut out of it five new counties of Montana, Oro, El Paso, Fremont, and Broderick.⁴ The only significance of this March election, for its officers seem never to have held power, lies in the fact that nearly eight hundred votes were then cast. Already

¹ Ovando J. Hollister, in his *Mines of Colorado* (Springfield, Mass., 1867), 17, is responsible for the statement that ten inches of snow fell on October 31, 1858.

² *Ibid.*, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 90; Smiley, 305, 530; Frank Fossett, *Colorado: a Historical, Descriptive and Statistical Work on the Rocky Mountain Gold and Silver Mining Region* (Denver, 1876), 17; Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, 1889-1895, 4 vols.), I. 208; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States*, vol. XX., *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), 402.

⁴ Smiley, 246, 531; Hall, I. 183; Bancroft, 402; Baskin and Co., *History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado* (Chicago, 1880), 187.

the heavy migration of 1859 had begun to throw its thousands along the trails to Denver. Whether these thousands were sixty or one hundred, no one can tell to-day; but it is certain that after half or more of them had gone home in disgust there remained in Jefferson nearly thirty thousand settlers to reiterate the demand that Congress provide a government for them and to maintain their provisional territory for the interim.

The mission of Hiram J. Graham to the second session of the thirty-fifth Congress failed to produce either an enabling or a territorial act. His arrival in Washington in January, 1859, was followed by the appearance of his territorial scheme in the House when A. J. Stephens introduced a bill for the erection of Jefferson Territory.¹ Grow of Pennsylvania moved to amend the name to Osage, and when it was reported back from the Committee on Territories on February 16, it was tabled without any serious discussion or opposition.² The fate that had postponed the erection of new territories in 1858 continued to postpone in 1859 when Jefferson had been added to the list. Slavery debate forbade territorial legislation, and the single scheme which had a real population behind it was left without local or legal government, and was forced to find its way through 1859 until the next session of Congress might perhaps attend to business and provide for it a legal frame.

The migration of 1859 multiplied the population of Denver many times and increased the need for orderly government as well by the character as by the number of its inhabitants. A knowledge that no aid from Congress could be had for at least a year revived the local movement until it induced a group of pioneers to hold a caucus, with William Larimer in the chair, on April 11, to consider the local situation.³ As a result of this caucus a call issued for a convention of representatives of the neighboring mining-camps to meet in the same place four days later. And on April 15, 1859, the camps of Fountain City, El Dorado and El Paso, Arapahoe, Auraria, and Denver met through their delegates, "being fully impressed with the belief, from early and recent precedents, of the power and benefits and duty of self-government", and feeling an imperative necessity "for an immediate and adequate government for the large population now here and soon to be among us . . . and

¹ His petition was presented in the Senate on January 27. *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 621. Stephens reported bills in the House for Dakota, Arizona, and Jefferson territories on January 28, 1859. *Ibid.*, 657.

² *Ibid.*, 1065.

³ Hall, I. 184; Smiley, 306; Bancroft, 403.

also believing that a territorial government is not such as our large and peculiarly situated population demands".¹

The deliberations thus informally started ended in a formal call for a constitutional convention to meet in Denver on the first Monday in June for the purpose, as an address to the people stated, of framing a constitution for a new "State of Jefferson". "Shall it be", the address demanded, "the government of the knife and the revolver, or shall we unite in forming here in our golden country, among the ravines and gulches of the Rocky Mountains, and the fertile valleys of the Arkansas and the Platte, a new and independent State?"² With a generosity characteristic of the frontier the convention determined the boundaries of the prospective state as the one hundred and second and one hundred and tenth meridians of longitude, and the thirty-seventh and forty-third parallels of latitude—an area including, in addition to the present state of Colorado, large portions of Utah and Nebraska and nearly half of Wyoming. The arrival in Denver, a week after this convention, of William N. Byers was important in that it brought an active advocate of statehood into the field, and produced on April 23 the first number of the *Rocky Mountain News*.³

When the statehood convention, called on April 15, met in Denver in June 6, the time was inopportune for concluding the movement, for large numbers of the pioneers who had rushed out over the plains for "Pike's Peak or Bust" were already on their disconsolate way back, "busted". The first reputation of the diggings was based upon light and exaggerated discoveries of placer gold; when productive lodes came into view they called for more capital and experience than most of the early prospectors possessed.⁴ The

¹ The first issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*, April 23, 1859, contains an account of these meetings and texts of the resolutions and addresses. The newspaper at once becomes an invaluable source. Smiley, 306-309.

² The address was drawn by a committee of five, and was printed in the *Rocky Mountain News*, May 7, 1859. Smiley, 309.

³ The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado has in its collection a file of the *Rocky Mountain News* which is substantially complete, and which has been used in the preparation of this paper. Byers reached Denver April 21 with his printing outfit. He had prepared for prompt issue by printing in Omaha two pages of his first four-page sheet. But even thus the honor of the first issue in Colorado is contested by John L. Merrick's *Cherry Creek Pioneer*. Both papers appeared first on April 23, 1859, Merrick's first being also his last, for Byers at once bought him out and gained control of the field for himself. Smiley, 247-248; Hall, I. 184; Bancroft, 527, has a useful note upon Colorado journalism.

⁴ Horace Greeley visited Denver, arriving June 6, 1859. Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey, from New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (New York, 1860), 137.

height of the gold boom was over by June, and the return migration made it somewhat doubtful whether any permanent population would be left in the country to need a state. So the convention met on June 6, appointed some eight drafting committees, and adjourned, to await developments, until August 1.¹ But by the first of August a line had been drawn between the confident and the discouraged elements in the population, and for six days the convention worked upon the question of statehood. As to permanency, there was by this time no doubt; but the body divided into two nearly equal groups, one advocating immediate statehood, the other shrinking from the heavy taxation incident to a state establishment and so preferring a territorial government with a federal treasury to meet the bills. The body, too badly split to reach a conclusion itself, compromised by preparing the way for either development and leaving the choice to public vote. A state constitution was drawn up on one hand;² while on the other was prepared a memorial to Congress praying for a territorial government;³ and both documents were submitted to a vote on September 5, 1859, when the memorial was chosen instead of the constitution.⁴ Upon October 3 another election was held, pursuant to the memorial, and a delegate to Congress was chosen in the person of Beverly D. Williams, who was local agent of a new Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company which had run its first coach into Denver in May,⁵ and whose zeal for mail contracts may have inspired some of his earnestness for Congressional countenance.

The adoption of the territorial memorial failed to meet the need for immediate government or to prevent the advocates of such government from working out a provisional arrangement pending the action of Congress. These advocates held a mass-meeting in Denver on September 24,⁶ while on the day that Williams was elected to Congress, October 3, they also elected delegates for a preliminary territorial constitutional convention, and upon

¹ Smiley, 277; Hall, I. 208; Baucroft, 404, gives lists of officers; *Rocky Mountain News*, June 11, 1859.

² Byers, in an editorial, *ibid.*, July 23, had supported the statehood argument by reference to the admission clause in the Louisiana treaty of 1803.

³ The *Rocky Mountain News* printed on August 6 the journal of the convention; on August 13 the constitution; and on August 20 the memorial.

⁴ Smiley, 311; *Rocky Mountain News*, September 17, reports the vote.

⁵ Smiley, 251; Alice Polk Hill, *Tales of the Colorado Pioneers* (Denver, 1884), 41; Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago and New York, 1893), 165, 228; Majors was a member of the great freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, which was ultimately wrecked when the "Pony Express" which had been started in April, 1860, collapsed.

⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, September 29; Smiley, 312.

October 10 this convention met. "Here we go," commented Byers, "a regular triple-headed government machine; south of 40 deg., we hang on to the skirts of Kansas; north of 40 deg., to those of Nebraska; straddling the line, we have just elected a Delegate to the United States Congress from the 'Territory of Jefferson', and ere long, we will have in full blast a provisional government of Rocky mountain growth and manufacture."¹ In this convention of October 10, 1859, the name of Jefferson was retained for the new territory, the boundaries of April 15 were retained, and a government similar to the highest type of territorial establishment was provided for.² If the convention had met pursuant to an enabling act, its career could not have been more dignified. It adopted a constitution with little trouble, and then dissolved after calling an election for territorial officers for October 24, 1859. The election of this day seems to have been orderly and generally participated in, for the need of government was obvious. It resulted in the choice of a legislature and an executive staff headed by Governor Robert W. Steele of Ohio.³ Two weeks later Steele met his assembly and delivered his first inaugural address.

The territory of Jefferson, which thus came into existence on November 7, 1859, is one of the most illuminating incidents in the history of the American frontier. From the days of the State of Franklin⁴ the frontiersman has always resented his isolation, and upon receiving evidence of governmental neglect has always been ready to erect his own government and care for himself in a political way. There are many incidents in the history of statehood movements in which settlement has rushed forward more rapidly than legal institutions, with results in the erection of illegitimate provisional governments. But none of these illegitimate governments has been erected more deliberately or conducted with more propriety than this territory of Jefferson. The fundamental principle of American government which Byers expresses is applicable at all times in similar situations:

We claim [he wrote in his *Rocky Mountain News*] that any body, or community of American citizens, which from any cause or under any circumstance, is cut off from, or from isolation is so situated, as not

¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, October 6.

² Hollister, 92; Smiley, 314; Bancroft, 406; text in *Rocky Mountain News*, October 20.

³ Binckley and Hartwell, *Southern Colorado* (Canon City, 1879), 5; Smiley, 315.

⁴ George Henry Alden, "The State of Franklin", in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII. 271-289; see also the Clarksville (Indiana) Resolves, *ibid.*, II. 691-693.

to be under any active and protecting branch of the central government, have a right, if on American soil, to frame a government, and enact such laws and regulations as may be necessary for their own safety, protection, and happiness, always with the condition precedent, that they shall, at the earliest moment when the central government shall extend an *effective* organization, and laws over them, give it their unqualified support and obedience.¹

And the life of the spontaneous commonwealth thus called into existence is a creditable witness to the American instinct for orderly government.²

When Congress met in December, 1859, the provisional territory of Jefferson was in operation, while its delegates were in Washington pressing the need for governmental action. One of the agents, B. D. Williams, was elected on October 3, 1859;³ the other, George M. Willing,⁴ claimed to be the regular choice at this election, and though apparently not recognized at Washington, reiterated the arguments of Williams and the territorial memorials. Both houses of Congress gave some heed to the facts thus presented. They received from President Buchanan on February 20, 1860, a message transmitting the petition from the Pike's Peak country,⁵ and bills to meet the demand were at least introduced into each house. The Senate upon April 3 received a report from the Committee on Territories introducing Senate Bill No. 366, for the erection of Colorado territory;⁶ while Grow of Pennsylvania reported to the House on May 10 a bill to erect in the same region a territory of Idaho.⁷ The name of Jefferson disappeared from the project in the spring of 1860, its place being taken by sundry other names for the same mountain area. Several weeks in the spring were given in part to debates over this Colorado-Idaho scheme as well as to the older

¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 4, 1860.

² F. L. Paxson, "The Territory of Jefferson: a Spontaneous Commonwealth", in *University of Colorado Studies*, III. 15-18.

³ A memorial of January 4, 1860, describes this election. *House Misc. Doc.* 10, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1063, p. 7. The text of his certificate of election is in *Rocky Mountain News*, August 29, 1860.

⁴ Two letters written by Willing to Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, are in the Department of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library, in a volume of territorial papers marked, Minn., Neb., Ore., Wyo., Col., D. C., Kan., Mich., Miscellaneous, and are brought to the writer's attention through the courtesy of W. G. Leland, Esq., of the Carnegie Institution, Department of Historical Research.

⁵ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 580; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 15, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1027; *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 841, February 20, 1860; p. 871, February 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1502.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2047, 2066, 2077. The memorials of Williams had been presented in the House by Green Adams of Kentucky, on February 15. See under that date

Dakota, Nevada, and Arizona territories. As in the past sessions of Congress, the debate was less upon the need for the erection of several territorial governments than upon the attitude which any bills should take upon the slavery issue. In the demands of the Republican leaders in the territorial debates from 1858 to 1867 can be measured the advance of antislavery attitude, from exclusion of slaves through guaranties to free negroes, and up to the abolition of the "white" clause in the franchise qualification. This obsession of Congress by the slavery debate precluded territorial legislation in the years 1859 and 1860, but the session ended with the reasonableness of one of the demands well presented. In a secondary way the governmental argument was strengthened by petitions for the service of the mails, for post-roads from Fort Laramie to Golden City and from Atchison to Denver. And though on May 12 all of the territorial bills were tabled for the session,¹ the need for them was clearer than it had been at any time since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854.

The territory of Jefferson, as organized in November, 1859, had been from the first recognized as merely a temporary expedient. The movement for it had gained weight in the summer of that year from the probability that it need not be maintained for many months. When Congress, however, failed in the ensuing session of 1859-1860 to grant the relief for which the pioneers prayed, the wisdom of continuing for another year the life of a government admitted to be illegal came into question. The first session of its legislature had lasted from November 7, 1859,² to January 25, 1860. It had passed comprehensive laws³ for the regulation of titles in lands, water, and mines, and had adopted civil and criminal codes. Its courts had been established and had operated with some show of authority. But the services and obedience to the government had been voluntary, no funds being on hand for the payment of salaries and expenses. One of the pioneers from Vermont wrote home, "There is no hopes [*sic*] of perfect quiet in our governmental matters until we are securely under the wing of our National Eagle."⁴

¹ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2079-2085.

² The *Rocky Mountain News* had the text of Steele's message in its issue of November 10, 1859. It is also found in *House Misc. Doc.* 10, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1063, pp. 11-15.

³ *Provisional Laws and Joint Resolutions Passed at the First and Called Sessions of the General Assembly of Jefferson Territory, Held at Denver City, J. T., November and December, 1859, and January, 1860. Published by Authority* (Omaha, N. T., Robinson and Clark, 1860, pp. 298). The writer knows of the existence of only two copies of this pamphlet.

⁴ *Early Day Letters from Auraria (now Denver) Written by Libeus Barney to the Bennington Banner, Bennington, Vermont, 1859-1860* (Denver?, n. d., pp. 88), 54.

In his proclamation calling the second election Governor Steele announced that "all persons who expect to be elected to any of the above offices should bear in mind that there will be no salaries or per diem allowed from this territory, but that the General Government will be memorialized to aid us in our adversity".¹ Upon this question of revenue it was that the territory of Jefferson was wrecked. Taxes could not be collected, since citizens had only to plead grave doubts as to legality to evade payment. "We have tried a Provisional Government, and how has it worked?" asked William Larimer in announcing his candidacy for the office of territorial delegate. "It did well enough until an attempt was made to tax the people to support it."² More than this, the real need for the government became less apparent as 1860 advanced, for the scattered communities learned how to obtain a reasonable peace without it. American mining-camps are peculiarly free from the need for superimposed government. The new camp at once organizes itself on a democratic basis, and in mass-meeting registers claims, hears and decides suits, and administers summary justice. Since the Pike's Peak country was only a group of mining-camps, there proved to be little immediate need for central government, for in the local mining-district organizations all of the immediate needs of the communities could be satisfied. So loyalty to the territory of Jefferson, in the districts outside Denver, waned during 1860, and by the summer of that year its moral influence had virtually disappeared. Its administration held together, however. Governor Steele made efforts to rehabilitate its authority, holding an election on October 22, 1860, to choose a second legislature.³ On November 12 he met his second assembly, he himself having been re-elected by a trifling vote, to continue the tradition of the territory. From November 12 to November 27 it sat at Denver; then until December 7 it continued its sessions at Golden. And upon this last day it dissolved itself forever.⁴

When the thirty-sixth Congress met for its second session in December, 1860, the Jefferson organization was in the second year of its life, yet in Congress there was no more immediate prospect of territorial action than there had been since 1857. Indeed, the election of Lincoln brought out the eloquence of the slavery question with a renewed vigor that monopolized the time and strength of

¹ Proclamation of September 18, in *Rocky Mountain News*, September 19, 1860.

² Letter of August 21, *ibid.*, August 22, 1860.

³ Bancroft, 410; Smiley, 321; Hall, I. 249.

⁴ Hollister, 123.

Congress until the end of January. And had not the departure of the southern members to their states cleared the way for action, it is highly improbable that even this session would have produced results of importance.

Grow had announced in the House on December 12, 1860, a general territorial platform similar to that which had been under debate for three years.¹ Until the close of January the southern valedictories held the floor, but at last the admission of Kansas on January 29, 1861, revealed the fact that pro-slavery opposition had departed and that the long-deferred territorial scheme could have a fair chance.² On the very day after Kansas was admitted, with its western boundary at the twenty-fifth meridian from Washington, the Senate revived its Bill No. 366 of the last session and took up its deliberation upon a territory for Pike's Peak.³ Only by chance did the name *Colorado* remain attached to the bill. Idaho was at one time substituted for Colorado, but was amended out in favor of the original name on February 4 as the bill passed the Senate.⁴ The boundaries were materially cut down from those which the territory had provided for itself. Two degrees were at once taken from the north of the territory, and after some hesitation over the Green River the western boundary was placed at the thirty-second meridian from Washington.⁵ In this shape, between the thirty-seventh and forty-first parallels, and the twenty-fifth and thirty-second meridians, the bill passed the Senate on February 4, the House on February 18, and received the signature of President Buchanan on February 28.⁶ The absence of serious debate in the passage of this Colorado act is excellent evidence of the merit of the scheme and the reasons for its being so long deferred.

On February 28, 1861, the territory of Colorado became a legal fact; Buchanan left it to his successor to erect the territorial establishment. President Lincoln, after some delay caused by pressure of business at Washington, commissioned General William Gilpin as first governor of the territory. Gilpin had long known the mountain frontier; he had commanded a detachment on the Santa Fé trail in the forties, and had written prophetic books upon the future of the country to which he was now sent. His loyalty was unquestioned, and his readiness to assume responsibility went so

¹ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 81.

² Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas* (Boston, 1885), 266.

³ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 639.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 729.

⁵ F. L. Paxson, "The Boundaries of Colorado", in *University of Colorado Studies*, II, 87-94.

⁶ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 729, 777, 1003, 1206, 1274.

far as perhaps to cease to be a virtue. He arrived in Denver at his new post on May 29, 1861,¹ and within a few days was ready to take charge of the territory and to receive from the hands of Governor Steele² such authority as remained in the provisional territory of Jefferson.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

¹ Hall, I. 266; Fossett, 106.

² Steele issued a proclamation recommending the citizens to remain "loyal and true" to the federal government on May 23, *Rocky Mountain News*, May 29, 1861. He handed over the government to Gilpin on June 6. Smiley, 321, 322.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT OF THE CONFEDERACY

JOHN H. REAGAN was born in Tennessee in 1818, when Andrew Jackson's name and the Second War with Great Britain were on the tongues of men. Jackson stood the representative champion of the Union. He had been its valorous defender at New Orleans; he was to prove its iron hero in the nullification controversy; and he was but an exaggerated type of the western pioneer who had pushed into the wilderness beyond the Alleghenies, daring all things, fearing nothing, building cabins, and laying the foundations of commonwealths. This westward migration from the older colonies had begun to be considerable only with the closing of the Revolution. In the ranks of those that moved forward to the conflict were many soldiers who had fought at Boston or at Cowpens. Among them was one Timothy Reagan, father of the Postmaster-General of the Confederacy. Inured to the hardships incident to the frontier, equipped with the resourcefulness inbred in the backwoodsman, and animated with the ideas current in his state that the Second War with Great Britain had been fought for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union, young Reagan came to hold an exalted view of both; and this exaltation never suffered abatement. At an early age, displaying the ancestral instinct, he left Tennessee and landed in Texas, where were fresh traces of the ravages of Santa Anna's armies. He had a voice in the early policies of the new-born Republic of Texas; favored annexation to the Union, was sent to Congress in 1857, and bore witness to the final curtain-fall on the impending tragedy of secession. His was one of the last and loudest voices levelled in the halls of Congress in an endeavor to lift the curtain and try another shifting of the figures with a view to avoiding the deadly struggle that menaced. Failing the Crittenden Compromise and all others, Judge Reagan started to Texas. On his way he learned of the call of his state for a secession convention, and of his having been appointed a member. He attended the convention, which assembled at Austin, and when their labors were done he found himself a delegate to the Confederate Congress called to meet at Montgomery. The die had been cast, and, like many another, the ardent Unionist became the Secessionist.

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This brief sketch is given so that the large outlines of Judge Reagan's life may be discerned, and his preparedness for higher duties properly estimated. We shall find that those habits of mind engendered by his early contact with the sharp facets of life were the guiding ones of his career.

Judge Reagan did not reach Montgomery, Alabama—where were to assemble on February 4 the delegates of the seceded states—until after the organization had been completed, and the President and Vice-president of the Confederacy elected. And almost sinister is the warning note in his first interview with President Davis. The Judge writes:

I called on the President and in the course of our conversation I said to him, that if I had been present at the election I should not have voted for him. I explained, however, that my objection was not based on the ground of distrusting his fitness for the high office, but because I preferred him at the head of the army. This post he admitted would have been more agreeable to him. Furthermore, I added that I should not have voted for Mr. Stephens, because it was the first time I had known in history of a people embarking in a revolution and selecting as one of their leaders a person known to be opposed to it.

Not disturbed by the Judge's frank expression of his views, President Davis, on March 6, tendered him the portfolio of Post-master-General. Reagan's surprise was complete, and his answer no less complete—he declined the honor. A second tender was also declined. This indeed seemed a post so thankless and so beset with difficulties that a respectable incumbent could not be found. Already in the press of organizing his Cabinet President Davis had offered the rôle to Mr. Ellet of Mississippi, who had been eight years a conspicuous member of Congress; and to Colonel Wirt Adams, a prominent citizen of the same state. These gentlemen had excused themselves on the ground of insuperable difficulties; and so had Mr. Reagan. But after this second declination, other forces were brought to bear on the unwilling judge. General T. N. Waul of Texas and the Honorable J. L. M. Curry of Alabama called on him and requested that he should accompany them to see the President. Once in the executive office, it was an easy matter to bring up the subject of the Post-Office Department, and presto he was urged by these gentlemen and by Mr. Davis to accept the appointment. His objection was

that our people under the Government of the United States, had been accustomed to regular postal facilities; that when the service under that Government lapsed, it would require considerable time to re-establish a regular postal system, and that in the meantime dissatisfac-

tion would arise on account of the interruption of mails. Poor service or no service, I urged, would probably lead to the supposition that the fault lay in the incapacity of the head of the Department; and so, while I professed my willingness gladly to perform my duty to the Confederacy, I said to them that I did not desire to become a martyr.

But the Judge was overborne in his objections. It was urged that there must be no admission of inability to organize any department of the government, and the President and those members of the cabinet present urged his acceptance of the portfolio, agreeing to aid and sustain him against unjust criticism. Reagan reluctantly yielded. He confessed, however, that, instead of feeling proud of the honor, he feared that a day would soon come when he would be condemned by the public for incapacity.

His fears concerning his fate as head of the department doubtless were real; they proved, however, utterly groundless. The work was entered upon with energy and intelligence, and in a degree scarcely matched by any of his associates. His eminently practical mind showed itself in his first measures, a brief account of which he has left in his "Memoirs":

On the way to my hotel from the meeting with the President, I was thinking of how I might obtain the necessary information to enable me to organize the Department, when I met H. P. Brewster, Esq., a lawyer of ability and brother-in-law of the late Senator Chestnut of South Carolina. I enquired whether he might go to Washington City for me. He said that he could do so, and agreed to go at once. I told Mr. Brewster that I wished him to perform an important service, and one not free from danger, and that I should like him to take an early train.

By the time that Mr. Brewster called at my hotel I had prepared letters to St. George Offit, chief clerk in the office of the sixth auditor of the Postoffice Department; to Benjamin Clements, chief clerk to the Postmaster-General; Joseph Lewis, the chief of the bond division; to Captain Schwartzman, the head of the dead-letter office; to Mr. McNain of the finance bureau; and to Mr. Hobby, Third-Assistant-Postmaster-General. I offered them positions in the Postoffice Department of the Confederacy, and I requested them to bring with them copies of the last annual report of the Postmaster-General and copies of every form in the Department, together with the postal maps of the Southern States.

Strange as it may seem, all of those to whom the Judge wrote, except Third Assistant Postmaster-General Hobby and a clerk in the department from Florida, quitted Washington on his summons and joined him in Montgomery, there to perfect the machinery for distributing the mails over the Confederacy. The recruits from Washington faithfully carried with them the blank forms and all necessary papers used in the dispatch of business. A postal map

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of Texas was secured, but of the other southern states there were no charts, and these had to be made with considerable difficulty. Also much of the supplies for the department was purchased in Washington by Mr. Brewster, especially the heavy bound volumes; the rest was ordered from New Orleans.

The next step in the organization—once the appointments of the new-comers were registered—was the enlisting of subordinates.¹ All necessary officers and clerks were added, and then was opened the Judge's school for instructions. It held from eight to ten o'clock every evening. The attendance of all members of the department was required, and in this manner the routine was systematized.

One of the first things set about was the preparation of the appointment-book, which contained the names of the postmasters under the jurisdiction of the Confederacy, together with the data of their offices—the amount of receipts, and whether they were draft or collection offices. Also a complete tabulation was made of the names and addresses of the agents of the service, and of the compensation awarded to each. At the same time were prepared the books of the contract office, which showed all the mail-routes under the control of the new government, the names of the contractors on the star routes, and the contract price. Also all contracts with railroad and steamship companies for carrying the mails were brought under scrutiny; and all vacancies were disclosed and appointments made. Thus much done, the practical problems were ready for solution. Writes the Judge:

To organize the Department so as to carry out the purpose had in view by Congress;² to insure the continuance of our postal facilities in such manner as to meet the public necessities; to avoid the suspension of the postal service until a new system could be adopted and put into operation, and to prevent a serious shock to the public interests by a temporary suspension of mail service, were the first questions to be considered by the Department.

The Provisional Congress adjourned March 16, 1861, but the threatening events following President Lincoln's inauguration caused Mr. Davis to call Congress to meet April 29 in special session.³

¹ First, Second, and Third Assistant Postmasters-General were represented by the chief of the contract bureau, the chief of the finance bureau, and the chief of the bureau of appointments. It might be added that the officers and clerks in the new department were not so numerous by half as those engaged at like tasks in Washington.

² The Confederate Congress contemplated the establishment of a Post-Office Department on the lines of that of the United States, witness the early legislation in regard to the same; and it was, as a matter of fact, so patterned.

³ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States*, I. 153.

⁴ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I. 60.

With this in view he requested of his cabinet information concerning the progress in organization, so that he might inform Congress. These reports were handed in at a cabinet meeting, and the Judge was prepared to say that his department was completely organized, and that he was ready to inaugurate the postal service of the Confederacy.¹ Such a report might well have drawn from President Davis the question, "How were you enabled to do this?", for he was no doubt unaware of the completeness of the gleaning of the department at Washington by Mr. Reagan's agents.

In my report in which I proposed to take charge of the postal system of the country [writes the Judge] I requested that Congress should authorize me to continue in office by proclamation the postmasters then in service under the government of the United States, wherever they were willing to serve, until new appointments could be made, and to continue in the service the present contractors for carrying the mails, under their existing rates of compensation, where they were willing to serve, until new contracts could be made.

Congress promptly granted the authority asked by the Postmaster-General, and he issued his proclamation covering the points at issue.

In this same report the Judge had asked for an additional force of eighteen clerks, bringing the number of members of his department to thirty-eight, not including the watchman for the building. And it was announced that

The Department had advertised for bids [which were to be in by May 1] for contracts for the supply of mail bags, post-office blanks and paper for the same, wrapping paper, twine and sealing wax, circulars, marking and dating stamps, postage stamps and stamped envelopes, and for mail locks and keys.²

Thus all the material appliances for the successful management of the department were gradually assembled. But what gave the Judge most concern was the manner of making the transfer between the old and new systems. He published two documents (authorized by an act of Congress, approved March 15) with a view to allaying any anxiety on the part of the postmasters over the country, and no doubt to show to the authorities of the United States that he meant to respect as far as seemed meet the claims of that government in the premises. In one place he writes:

The Government of the Confederate States will not interfere with any existing contracts entered into between the Government of the

¹ There had also been perfected a bureau whose function was the auditing of the accounts of the department. But this duty was later assigned to the Treasury.

² See Davis's message of April 29, 1861, Richardson, I. 79-80.

United States and the present contractors, until it assumes the entire control of its postal affairs. This course is rendered necessary by the utter impracticability of mixing the employees of the two Governments in the same service.

The question as to whether the government of the Confederate States will assume any liability to present contractors, before it assumes the control of our postal affairs, involves the idea of liability on the part of the Government for the obligations of the United States before the Department shall be organized and ready to enter into new contracts. I am authorized to continue the existing contracts provisionally, by proclamation, until new contracts can be entered into.

All postmasters and employes of the postal service were instructed to render all accounts and to pay all moneys to the order of the United States authorities, as they had heretofore done, until the government of the Confederacy assumed entire control.

Another paragraph reads:

We must regard the carrying of our mails at this time by that Government as a great public necessity to the people of both Governments, resulting from their past intimate political, commercial and social relations, and alike important to the preservation of the present interests of the people of both countries; and while that Government, by its action, consults such considerations, our Government and its people should act with the same high regard for great public interests. Such a course on our part, springing from such motives will preserve the character of our people, without impairing the dignity of our Government, with far less injury to the people of both than would necessarily follow from precipitate action on the part of either.

The Judge furnishes an excellent illustration of the beclouded state of mind possessing the highest in authority in the South:

It was hoped that this course would have beneficial effects, by removing all doubts as to the duty, for the time being, of those engaged in the postal service, and by showing to the Government at Washington that so long as it continued to hold itself liable for the mail service in the Confederate States, it should receive all the revenues derived from that service. It was supposed, too, that it was greatly to the interests of that country, as well as to the interests of our own, to avoid a sudden suspension of the postal communication between the people of the two countries, and to avoid being brought at once into practical non-intercourse, which it was supposed would occur if this department had been required to assume control of the service before its organization, and before any time had been given to pass the mail across the frontier. And when that policy was determined on, it was not known that active hostilities would occur, but it was then supposed to be still possible that our separation from the United States might be peaceably effected, and that all questions relating to the public property and to pecuniary liability between the two countries, might be settled by them on terms of equality.

"Peaceably effected"! With red war gleaming on the horizon, these doctrinaire secessionists went on their way blindly parting hair from hair; and indeed in measures of infinitely more consequence than the regulation of the Post-Office Department.

Under the provision of the first section of the act of Congress of May 9, 1861, "to amend an act vesting certain powers in the Postmaster-General, approved March 15, 1861", the Judge was granted the requisite authority to fix, by proclamation, the date of the Confederacy's assumption of the control of the postal service within her borders. So on May 13 a famous paper was promulgated, fixing the first of June as the day for taking over the reins. Also it dealt with the formalities and modes of transferring the funds, postage-stamps, envelopes, and property, except mail-bags, locks, and keys—a measure which was necessary if any adjustment of accounts was to follow the termination of hostilities, "and was also necessary in order that there should be no time when these civil officials were not responsible to one or the other government". Some other matters discussed in this proclamation are important:

Whereas, by the provision of an act, approved March 15, 1861, and amended by the first section of an act approved May 9th, 1861, the Postmaster-General is authorized on and after a day named by him for that purpose, to take entire charge and direction of the postal service of the Confederate States; and all conveyance of mails within their limits from and after such day, except by the authority of the Postmaster-General, is hereby prohibited:

Now, therefore, I, John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General of the Confederate States of America, do issue this proclamation, notifying all postmasters, contractors and special route agents, in the service of the Postoffice Department, and engaged in the transmission and delivery of mails, or otherwise in any manner connected with the service, within the limits of the Confederate States of America, that on and after the first day of June next, I shall assume the entire control and direction of the postal service therein. And I hereby direct all postmasters, route agents and special agents within these States, and acting under the authority and direction of the Postmaster-General of the United States, to continue in the discharge of their respective duties, under the authority invested in me by the Congress of the Confederate States, in strict conformity with such existing laws and regulations as are not inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the Confederate States of America, and such further instructions as may hereafter be issued by my direction. And the said postmasters, route agents and special agents are also required to forward to this department, without delay, their names with the names of the offices of which they are postmasters (giving the State and county) to be directed to the chief of the appointment bureau, in order that the new commissions may be issued under the authority of this Government. And all postmasters are required to render to the Postoffice Department at Washington, D. C. their final

accounts and vouchers for postal receipts and expenditures up to the 31st of this month, taking care to forward with such accounts all postage stamps and stamped envelopes remaining on hand, belonging to the Postoffice Department of the United States, in order that they may receive the proper credits therefor, in the adjustment of their accounts, and they are further required to keep in their possession to meet the orders of the Postmaster-General of the United States, for the payment of mail service within the Confederate States, all revenue which shall have accrued from the postal service to the said first day of June, next.

All contractors, mail messengers and special contractors for carrying the mails within the Confederate States, under the existing contracts with the Government of the United States, are hereby authorized to continue to perform such service under my direction, from and after the day last named, subject to such changes and modifications as may be found necessary, under the powers vested in the Postmaster-General by the terms of said contracts and the provisions of the second section of an act approved May 9, 1861, conformable thereto. And said contractors and special contractors and mail messengers are required to forward without delay the number of their route or routes and the nature of the service thereon, the schedules of arrivals and departures, the names of the offices supplied and the amount of the annual compensation for present services, together with their address, directed to the chief of the contract bureau.

Until a postal treaty shall be made with the Government of the United States for the exchange of mails between that Government and the Government of the Confederacy, postmasters will not be authorized to collect United States postage on mail matter sent to or received from those States, and until postage stamps and stamped envelopes are procured for the payment of postage within the Confederate States, all postage must be paid in money, under the provisions of the first section of the Act of March 1, 1861.

The course of Judge Reagan apparently met with the approval of the Washington authorities, for, as if acting in co-operation, the Honorable Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-general of the United States, soon promulgated a proclamation suspending on June 1 all mail-routes in the states embraced by the Confederacy.

The provisional Constitution of the Confederacy required the Post-Office Department to be self-sustaining after March 1, 1863.¹ The expenditures in connection with the mail service by the government of the United States, for the years ending June 30, 1860, in the states then under control of the Confederacy, amounted to \$2,879,530.79; and the receipts into the Treasury from the same states for that year amounted to but \$938,105.34, showing a deficit of \$1,941,425.45. With these figures before him, the task of overcoming such a deficit must have seemed hopeless. However, without entering into details, steps were taken to curtail expenses.

¹ Constitution, § 8, clause 7. See message of Davis, September 30, 1862, Richardson, I. 252.

Representatives of the various railroads were called together, and they agreed to cut by one-half the pay they were then receiving for carrying the mails; the rates of postage on letters, packages, and newspapers were raised (letter postage was five cents for one-half ounce); unnecessary mail-routes were discontinued; the number of trips on some routes was cut down; the weight of the mails was reduced through the abolition of the franking privileges; long routes were shortened so as to induce competition; and where there were duplicate routes one was dropped, and in many cases cross-routes were found unnecessary and abandoned.

The administration of the department was from the first most successful—indeed, it may be said to have been conspicuously successful. It was self-sustaining at every stage of the war, and each year there was a net income of receipts over expenditures. To have organized so intricate an establishment and carried it on satisfactorily for four years amid the raging of the bloodiest war-storm of the century is to have achieved an unusual triumph. That Judge Reagan did; and, as an administrative officer, when the chronicle of the Confederacy shall have been written, his name will stand high on the scroll.

WALTER FLAVIUS McCALEB.

DOCUMENTS

I. *Letters of Jefferson to Marbois, 1781, 1783*

THESE two letters were found in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Français, 12768, folios 245, 247) by Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago. The first has an interesting bearing on the genesis of the *Notes on Virginia*. Mr. Paul Ford's statement (*Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, III. 68) may be quoted:

In 1781 the French ministry directed their American agent to gather certain information concerning the several States then forming the American union, for the use of the home government. The secretary of the French legation, Marbois, in pursuance of this instruction, drew up a series of questions, which were sent to leading men in the different States, who were presumed to be best competent to supply the needed answers. These questions produced from several of the States replies more or less adequate, a number of which have been since printed. On the recommendation of Joseph Jones, then a member of the continental congress, a set of queries was sent to Jefferson, then still governor of Virginia.

Jefferson, in his autobiography (*Writings*, I. 85) says that it had been his practice, when he came upon useful pieces of information respecting Virginia, to note them on loose papers. "I thought this a good occasion to embody their substance, which I did in the order of Mr. Marbois' queries . . . and to arrange them for my own use." Mr. Ford prints (III. 68) a letter dated March 4, 1781, in which Jefferson promises Marbois his aid. The original of this letter, Mr. Thompson tells us, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Français, 12768, folio 243); Mr. Ford no doubt printed from the copy preserved among the Jefferson manuscripts. But the two letters which follow are not in that collection, and have not been printed. It will be remembered that François de Barbé-Marbois, afterward the negotiator of the Louisiana treaty of 1803, was from 1779 to 1785 secretary of the French legation to the United States, under Luzerne as minister. The second letter relates to Jefferson's daughter Martha. Her mother had died in 1782. In July, 1784, Jefferson and the daughter started for Paris, where he put her to school in a convent.

RICHMOND Dec. 20. 1781

Sir

I now do myself the honour of inclosing you answers to the queries which Mr. Jones put into my hands. I fear your patience has been exhausted in attending them, but I beg you to be assured there has been no avoidable delay on my part. I retired from the public service in June only, and after that the general confusion of our state put it out of my power to procure the informations necessary till lately. Even now you will find them very imperfect and not worth offering but as proof of my respect for your wishes. I have taken the liberty of referring to you my friend Mr. Charles Thompson¹ for a perusal of them when convenient to you. Particular reasons, subsisting between him and myself, induced me to give you this trouble.

If his Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne will accept the respects of a stranger I beg you to present mine to him, and to consider me as being with the greatest regard and esteem Sir

Your most obedient
and most humble servt

TH: JEFFERSON

[Indorsement:] Monsr de Marbois

Secretary to the embassy
of his most Christian Majesty
Philadelphia.

ANNAPOLIS Dec. 5. 1783

Sir

Your very obliging letter of Nov. 22 was put into my hands just in the moment of my departure from Philadelphia, which put it out of my power to acknowledge in the same instant my obligation for the charge you were so kind as to undertake of presenting a French tutor to my daughter and for the very friendly disposition and attentions you flatter me with. The same cause prevented me from procuring her the books you were so kind as to recommend, but this shall be supplied by orders from hence. I had left with her a *Gil Blas*² and *Don Quichotte* which are among the best books of their class as far as I am acquainted with them. The plan of reading which I have formed for her is considerably different from [that] which I think would be most proper for her sex in any other country than America. I am obliged in it to extend my views beyond herself, and consider her as possibly at the head of a little family of her own. The chance that in marriage she will draw a blockhead I calculate at about fourteen to one, and of course that the education of her family will probably rest on her own ideas and direction without assistance. With the poets and prose writers I shall there-

¹ The original edition of the *Notes* contained an extensive appendix by Secretary Charles Thomson; in subsequent editions his material was distributed through the book.

² Martha was eleven years old.

fore combine a certain extent of reading in the graver sciences. However I scarcely expect to enter her on this till she returns to me. Her time in Philadelphia will be chiefly occupied in acquiring a little taste and execution in such of the fine arts as she could not prosecute to equal advantage in a more retired situation.¹

We have yet but four states in Congress. I think when we are assembled we shall propose to dispatch the most urging and important business, and, putting by what may wait, separate and return to our respective states, leaving only a Committee of the States.² The constant session of Congress cannot be necessary in time of peace, and their separation will destroy the strange idea of their being a permanent body, which has unaccountably taken possession of the heads of their constituents, and occasions jealousies injurious to the public good.

I have the honour of being with very perfect esteem and respect Sir
Your most obedient and most humble Servt

TH: JEFFERSON

2. *Journal of John Mair, 1791*

JOHN MAIR, Esquire, of Iron Acton, father of Mary Charlotte, wife of Nassau W. Senior, was born in 1744. His friends bought him a commission as cornet of dragoons and he immediately sailed for India in 1761. After much active service he retired from the army and sailed from India in the same ship with Lord Clive in 1767. Elaborate journals of his stay in India and subsequent travels are in the possession of his granddaughter. He visited Paris on his way home, and lived there with John Wilkes and his daughter. In 1770 he again visited Paris to be present at the marriage of Louis XVI. to Marie Antoinette, whom he ardently admired. He was an inveterate traveller, visiting all parts of England and the Continent, the United States, Canada, and the West Indies, where he was so much charmed with Dominica that he bought an estate and lived there several years. During the short time he lived in England he spent the winters at Bath. In his old age he bought the little estate of Iron Acton in Gloucestershire and took his son and two daughters to live with him. John Raven Senior was then parson of the parish, hence the marriage of Nassau Senior and Mary Mair. Mr. Mair died in London at his son-in-law's house, 13 Hyde Park, in 1830, of fatigue brought on by a hasty visit to Paris to see the results of the Revolution of 1830. His journals, in the possession of Mrs. M. Simpson, of Milmead House, Guildford, Sur-

¹ Jefferson's letter of November 28, 1783, to his daughter (Miss Randolph's *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 69; Ford, III. 344) shows her programme to consist mostly of music, dancing, and drawing, but from three to four o'clock each day she was to read French.

² Congress did not adjourn till June 3, 1784.

rey, daughter of Nassau W. Senior, fill seven volumes of 150 to 175 pages each. We are also indebted to Mrs. Simpson for the notes used in preparing the preceding sketch. The narrative of American travel, while nowise profound, is interesting as recording the observations of an intelligent and remarkably experienced traveller. The editor's attention was first called to it by Mr. James Bain, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library. A division into paragraphs has been carried through in order to aid the reader; there are none in the original manuscript. An extract from Mair's Journals descriptive of the marriage of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, September, 1899.

The 3d. Janry 1791 I embark'd at night on board the Betsey, Capn. Flagg, a brig belonging to Portsmouth in America but bound for Charles-Town South Carolina. we attempted getting out at gun fire next morning by the aid of the land winds which blow at night and till 9 oClock in the mornng. but the sea breeze setting in very early we were forc'd to come to an Anchor again, and wait till next morning when we effected it but made little progress that day. we were forc'd to lay to 3 different times to avoid the Keys call'd the West Caicos, Mayaguana, and Atwoods which are Islands extremely flat, uninhabited, and are mostly sand bearing nothing but low shrubs. the 11th. day we were on the edge of Soundings when a very strong Southwester came on which oblig'd us to lay to. it continued 36 hours and when it clear'd up we found ourselves carry'd greatly to the Northward by the Currt. which was so strong that whilst we were beating with a foul wind our head W S: W. we were carry'd 69 Miles North in the 24 hours; we had got off Cape Hatteras, when a severe N: W: gave us the Southing we had lost, and we once more got into our latitude. we had however calms and such baffling weather that we did not get in till the 29th.

the land is so very low that you see the trees long before it. the lighthouse is here very necessary otherwise many vessels wou'd get on the bar. there is no fort of consequence (Sullivans being now destroy'd) going up to Charles town but occasionally the passage might be made very strong. the Town looks much better from the Sea, than it is found to be on entring it, for the streets being unpav'd the sand makes it very heavy walking. the houses are very irregular, and mostly but badly built, tho' there are some that are very handsome. the Town-house and the Exchange are good regular buildings, as are the 2 parish churches; had those fronting the warfs been regular and well built it might have vied with the Charteron of Bordeau; there are also several very obnoxious swamps not only about the shore, but in the very middle of the Town, yet houses let prodigious dear, I saw one on the beach of only 2 Rooms on a floor, that sometime since let for 300£ Ster: pr. An: the warfs are very commodious, and belong to individuals, but its a pity they were not made uniform; the shipping here surpris'd

me with their number amounting to upwards of 200 sail, and most of these large ships or Brigs; the old Fortifications are destroy'd. its natural situation is very strong, being flank'd by two rivers (Cooper and Ashley) and the lines across the main land cou'd soon be made very strong; the Market for meat etc is pretty good, but very dear, indeed every Article is to the full as dear as in the West Indies, and the profits must be very great to afford the Expence, yet it wou'd seem by the complaints I heard that money is very scarce, and the produce of the rice plantations are by no means in general adequate to the expenditures in forming them. one reason indeed of the houses in town letting so high, is, that every planter that can afford it, has a residence, there, for the heat of summer (which is infinitely greater than in the W: I: it having remain'd 4 days last summer at 104 degrees) is so dangerous to the health, that they then come to town; the climate however from Novr. to April is generally mild; when the wind call'd the Hobcaw (N: W:) blows it is sometimes piercing cold. I also felt some days when it was at Sbutl East as unseasonably warm. the dust in the streets is unsufferable, one inhales enough when the weather is dry and the wind high to choak one.

the inhabitants are much divided and I think from the Interest some families maintain, and the suppleness of the Merchants and Tradesmen that they verge very much towards an Aristocracy; when alone people live very frugally, when they entertain, it is allways to a croud and then they cram their Tables with solids of an enormous size. they drink little else but Madeira. they have no regular Assembly, we strangers gave one Ball, the Freemasons another and in the Race week which was the 2d. March, at which all the contiguous planters flock'd, the Jockey club gave another. the Assembly room is infinitely too small, and the Musick and supper-rooms wretched beyond Idea. they have Concerts once in 14 days tho' they are but indifferent. the Sex here are very handsome, tho' in general they want colour. most of them have been educat'd in Europe, but quitted it too early to have form'd their Manners to the stile there.

they have lately establish'd the meeting of the Legislature at Columbia, as a place more central than Charlestown, and the Govt. was this year new model'd, and a new code of laws made which according to appearance are fully equal to exigencies. they have innumerable Lawyers, but what pleadings I heard did not give me a high Idea of their Orators, and their Courts are totally void not only of majesty but even want decency. I heard the tryal of a Man (who had serv'd as a Major in the Wars, and had took the name of Washington) for forging indents. they were very delicate in their proceedings, but on the most glaring proofs he was condemn'd and executed.

the country contiguous, is all a sand, and but little clear'd, being mostly what they call Pine Barens. the Rice swamps begin 10 or 12 Miles distance, and are either on the rivers which are embank'd to keep

out the tides, or inland in low swampy places. some of those have running streams, which may be turned into the swamps when the rice or the fertilising the ground requires it, for instead of dung, they lay their fallows under water for 2 or 3 years; I went to see some plantations nearest the town but the most perfect are those on the Santee river or near George town. The back country is cultivated in Tobacco, but the distance they are oblig'd to send it by land must barely give a living to the planter. they put a shaft through the hhd and rowl it down with 2 Horses, and tho' it is drag'd through swamps and pools of water it is so hard pack'd as not to be damag'd. I am told the country beyond the Hills is a fine climate and soil. it is inhabited by Refugies from Virginia, whose manners are more savage than the Indians, but they are a strong hardy race, and I make no doubt in time will become respectable to their Neighbours.

I saild from Charles Town the 24th. March in the brig Hetty Clouser bound for Philadelphia. my original intention was to go to Norfolk in Virginia, and thence by land to that City, and to have call'd in my way on Genl. Washington at Mt. Vernon, but I leard that he was on his way to Carolina, therefore I chang'd my rout. we sailed with a very fair wind for 2 days when it became quite contrary and we had very bad stormy weather, and it was 10 days before we made the Capes of the Delaware. the land thereabouts is as flat very near as at Carolina. the river is very wide till within 60 Miles of the Town, when it narrows considerably. it is counted 150 or 160 Miles from the Capes to the Town. the Jersey shore seems but little cultivated, the other side has several small Towns which look very pleasant. the tide is very rapid, and in two days more making in all 12 days from Charles town, we got up to the wharf the 4th. April.

one does not see the city on acct. of the short turnings of the different reaches till within a league of it. it's appearance is not so striking as Charles town, but when landed the streets exhibit great neatness and regularity, and the houses are well built and all of brick. the streets are pav'd, but are at present in a very bad condition; Market Street is the broadest but the lower part of it is spoild by the stalls for provisions, the exhibition of which is very fine, and their beef rivals Leaden hall. fish is not quite so plentiful, and is mostly of one sort. the streets are lay'd out paralel with the wharfs, and are nam'd Front, Second etc, the cross streets amongst which is the Market Street, have various names. the town is very extensive, and houses let at a very high price especially since the Congress have fix'd themselves here, lots of land for building are at an enormous price. at the back of the town is a very large tract of land all mark'd out as far [as] the Schullkill for buildings, and they are soon to build a Square, in which is to be the Presidents house, and all the Federal offices. the Government buildings belonging to the state are uniform, and neat and have a good walk behind them. the Court house is small, nor do they use more

Ceremony at the Tryals than in Charles town nay not so much for they wear no Gowns; They have a poor house where Idlers are put that beg in the streets, and are made to do something for their maintainance. their Hospital is on a very good footing and very clean. the Lunaticks are also taken care of here.

I expected to have found greater simplicity of manners and dress than I did, but now the Quakers alone seem to retain it. all the other inhabitants are as gay and dissipated as in London, and the abode of the Congress has introduc'd all kinds of luxury, they have plays, balls, Concerts etc, and the Routs at different houses vie with St. James's.

commerce here seems to thrive very much, and the new establish'd funds have given prodigious fortunes to some individuals. the wharfs for the shipping are very convenient but they have spoild the original design of leaving a considerable area between the Front Street, and them, by building an intermediate street call'd Water Street; the Churches for the protestants and different religious sects are numerous, the Quakers have 5. they are all neat.

the president when he is here resides in a house rented of Mr. Morrice the Financier, he observes great simplicity of manner, but whether from disposition of [or] policy associates but very little with any one. he never accepts an invitation to dine out, but his Secrety. invites strangers very often to dine with the prest. and he has a levé day, and his wife an Evening but witht. cards. whilst I was here I met all the remarkable characters at the feast of St. Geo: which is regularly kept up; I think their state of society will bear improvement, which their converse with strangers will soon effect.

every day I was here I rode out nor can there be more beautifull rides than in the environs. the banks of the Delawar, and the opposite shore of the Jerseys are very picturesque but the Schulekill is enchantingly romantick, the hills coming down in a slope sometimes gentle sometimes steep to the side of the river. both of these Rivers are ornamented with beautifull Country Seats, full of fruit etc etc. at present land is rather in a state of depreciation, and one of these houses with a consble farm contiguous may be purchas'd very cheap, for commerce, and the state Securities engrosses every speculation. they have here an ugly weed that does much mischief, and can't be rooted out call'd Garlic. the Milk and even the meat tastes of it.

the inland country between the Rivers is beautifull, but the British have rob'd it of its trees. these rivers in time will probably be joind, and if that, and the cuts design'd for the upper inland Navigation succeed, this city bids fair to retain its Metropolitan dignity, and to be in future Notwithstandg the town recently mark'd out on the Potowmack the Seat of the Federal Govt. the roads are of that sort of earth that require either the assistance of gravel or paving to make them good. they are lay'd out very broad, but are dreadfull in winter, and disagreeably dusty in summer. the Waggons that supply the city with corn are

continually passing, bringing it from the contiguous Towns of which there are a great number. the Schuylkill has 3 bridges lay'd on large logs of wood over it. at the town of Greys is a pritty Garden which in summer is lighted up to serve as a Vauxhall; there is also another Garden of the same nature 4 Miles on the Frankfurt road call'd Harrowgate from the similitude its waters have to those of the same name in England.

having seen as much of the country contiguous as circumstances wou'd permit, and finding that my plan of passing to New York by Bethlehem cou'd not be effected without my staying till May when those stages then begin to run, I embark'd the 27th. April on board a boat to Burdlington which lys 30 Miles up the Delawar. nothing can be more delightfull than this voyage for the Banks on each side are decorated with small Towns or country houses. this conveyance however has its inconvenience as I fatally experienc'd, for the wind which was fair at setting off changing, and the tide changing agt. us we were forc'd to come to, and did not arrive at our destination till next morning; from hence we set out in a stage for Amboy, the road rather rough, the country rich and pritty well settled. Amboy is 40 Miles from Burdlington and is only a single house which is an Inn, we arriv'd here at 2 oClock, and immediately embark'd on board the packet. having a fair wind, our Voyage was delightfull the coasts of Staten Island, the Jerseys, and long Island affording a most delightfull scene also a distant view of the hook, but after we had got through the narrows, it fell suddenly calm, and the tide about sun-setting changing, we were forc'd to Anchor within 6 Miles of the Town, and pass'd a very cold and uncomfortable night on board. in the morning of the 29th. we again got under way but it being quite calm we did not get to the Quay before 10 oClock by which delay however I had an opportunity of contemplating the beautifull prospects that surrounded us. the distance of Amboy to new York is 30 Miles, and is generally run in one tide.

nothing can be more beautifull to the eye or advantageous for commerce than the Situation of New York. it is in a corner of the Island, form'd by the North or Hudsons river, and the Channel or East River. the Quays are mostly (for ships) on the East river, and from the Battery where is the Govt. house (a massive but not an elegant building) and where they are making a beautifull parade, is as fine a view as the eye can wish; the town has some very good houses in it. the Hall, the Churches, and Hospitals are all good or handsome buildings. the Streets are irregular and some of them very narrow, but the pavement at present is very good; commerce here is very advantageous, and most people are at their ease, some indeed rich. they deservedly have the character of being hospitable, to strangers, and I think in general are more easy than any of the other States. young people marry here very early, and either old Maids or Bachelors are rare.

as they have an easy communication by the North river to the in-

terior parts of the country they employ a prodigious number of craft for that purpose, and as this port seldom or ever freezes they boast of that advantage over Philadelphia where ships are frequently detain'd by the Ice. New York Island is join'd to the Main by a bridge 15 Miles from town. the Island is very narrow, the land poor, the roads are not so varied as Philadelphia, but the rides are beautiful. there are several rising grounds from which one commands a view of both rivers, particularly at Fort Washington 11 Miles from town; the Ferry to Long Island is short, and the country and roads are there beautiful and extensive. the Ferrys to the Jerseys are 3. to arrive at Newark 7 Miles, which makes excursions there very inconvenient. I rode one day to see the falls of the Pisaick river 25 Miles. the fall in itself fell greatly short of my expectation, but as I made a circle by the town of Hackinsack and the road for the most part going by the side of those two rivers nothing can be more picturesque than the country, it is so thickly settled with small farms that it appears as one continual villiage, and really might be compared in beauty to the Thames, except that it wants the embellishments of buildings and Gardens. The Markets of new York are little inferior to Philadelphia, that of the Fish better. people live very well here, and cheap. in the winter they have balls, routs, and all kinds of amusements, but the moment the summer approaches all finishes, but tea parties.

the 22d. May I embark'd on board the Providence packet for Newport in Rhode Island, where we arriv'd the next day after a sail of 26 hours. the prospect on each side the Channel of Long Island and Connecticut Shores was as delightful as a well settled, and beautifully varied country cou'd render it.

the Town of Newport bears the traces of having once been eminent, but many of the inhabitants being ruin'd in the war by their attachment to the Royal cause, several houses are empty, and their Trade has quite dwindled away, tho the Harbour is allow'd to be the best in the States, and it offers every advantage a commercial people cou'd wish; some of the buildings have been good and handsome, but must now soon decay. I took a ride round the Island which is about 15 Miles long, but is very narrow. the road is very good, and the country beautiful, and must have been eminently so, before the British troops devastated it of its trees. the fences are mostly stone. the land is mostly gently rising and falling. it is in general good, and was very well cultivated. the channel to the continent is not above $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile and the prospects from the rising grounds are very extensive on each side; we found a French Ship of War of 74 Guns, anchor'd here, call'd the Dugay Trouin. she call'd in here for supplies on her way to Europe from Martinico having a vast number of land troops on board.

at 12 oClock next day we again set sail, and having a fine wind got to Providence by 5 oClock in the afternoon, there is an assemblage of so

many beautifull prospects in this passage, particularly when going up the river that it wou'd be difficult to do justice to them. the channel has several well cultivated Islands, and tho when arriv'd in the river the Banks are very steep and high, the rapid rise of the lands contiguous presents a very picturesque view on every side, which is bounded (on rounding the point) by the town, which lays under the hills. it is well built, and as it owes its rise to the fall of Newport every thing looks fresh and wears an air of business. it is as large as Newport and has several good buildings, but like that mostly of wood, the river divides the town, but is connected by a bridge; I observ'd both here and at Newport that they are very curious in the spires of the churches. on an eminence (where there has been a fortification) above the town is a most extensive and beautifull prospect of the whole of the town, the sea, the Islands, and circumjacent lands on the continent.

we went from hence about 8 oClock the next morning, in the stage, and got to Boston at 6 oClock in the afternoon, stopping half way to dine. the distance is 45 Miles, the road pretty good, and the country finely varied. there were several Villiages we pass'd through and some beautifull farms ornamented with fine fruit trees, and having plenty of trout Streams; most of this country is in pasture, tho' they have some Arable land; there are several handsome country seats just before one comes to Roxburgh which is only a Mile from the Neck.

Boston is not so big as new York, and where it not for the causeway or Neck wou'd be an Island. it is mostly built on the ground contiguous to the Harbour, so that it extends very long. behind are several hills on one of which is a Column bearing a very proper Inscription. from hence is a complete view of the Town, and circumjacent country; there is a Mill pond which covers a considerable space of ground and which being easily drain'd wou'd afford Room for a fine square or other buildings. the Streets are pritty good, tho the pavement wants mending, and the foot way broad stones, those it at present is pav'd with being very rough and pointed. most of the houses are of wood, but some of them are very neat. as yet they have no lamps which is very inconvenient for the nightwalkers. the Churches and Meetings are all very handsome, and that intolerance which they were once so famous for is now no more and I was present at the social meetings, of the Catholick, the Protestant Bishops and Divines. the Clergy are very numerous. I was told 150 were invited to the publick dinner the Govr.¹ gave on the day of his being again rechosen into the Government. the Quays are very convenient, and distributed all along the Harbour. the long Quay is handsome, and is the property of several individuals. they have begun several manufactories. that for Sail Duck is counted a valuable acquisition to the state, it employing a number of females on a very liberal footing; and furnishing that article in greater perfection than they cou'd import it. they are encouraging for that pur-

¹ Hancock.

pose the cultivation of hemp and expect from every appearance great success. the circumjacent country is beautifull, being mostly pasture ground. for as yet they do not grow corn in common, importing most of their flower from Philadelphia. None of their publick buildings are much worth noticing. their Market both for fish and flesh is pritty abundant but wants the neatness of the other cities.

I made frequent excursions on Horseback, to the contiguous towns and villiages. from the Church at Dorchester¹ there is a charming view of a fine country the Harbour which is render'd more beautifull by its being replete with small Islands, and the town. the road leading to Cambridge over the Neck and returning by Charles town is very pritty. the Colledge is a good building, and on a good foundation. there is a small river navigable for sloops up to it. it is about 4 Miles from Boston. I frequently went to see Bunkers hill which is contiguous to Charles town which during the war was burn'd down, nor has it since recover'd its former size or splendour.

the Inhabitants in general are very hospitable, but do not give much into the pleasures of the table dining early and doing as much business after as before dinner, nor do the ladies come much into company. some of them are very pritty, but want the polish of language, and the easy and eligrant manner polite education gives.

the 8th. of June I took leave of Boston and went in the stage to Hartford. this is the only mode of conveyance in the united states, and is bad enough especially when crowded, for their numbers are not stinted and both there and at their Inns people are bundled together like sheep going to Market; the country we pass'd through is beautiffully varied well watered and has several small lakes or ponds, in general hilly, the road tolerable and capable of being made very excellent, replete with towns and villiages in short a very thick settled country for the first 60 Miles, after which the soil being bad (a loose sand) there is much wood left standing, and the settlements but thin, till near Springfield on the river of Connectacut, where the Stage is ferry'd over, from thence to Hartford (the Capital of Connecticut) the country is very rich, and mostly a plain, so that the Towns and villiages allmost extend to one another. Suffield, and Windsor are both handsome towns, and are inhabited by Gentn. retir'd on their Ests.

Hartford is a pritty extensive town, the streets very long, but not pav'd, some of the houses are neat enough but all are built of wood. it stands on the Connectacut river and has a small river running through the town into it, it ships horses, cattle etc for the W: I: and a quantity of hay of the Southward. they also breed a number of Mules in this country a branch of commerce which is dayly encreasing. from the Balcony of the church Steeple one has a charming view of the circumjacent country, than which nothing can be more rich and beautifull. we hir'd a carriage from hence next day, and went to see Middletown.

¹ Meetinghouse Hill.

about 4 Miles before one gets there is an eminence which commands the most delightfull country I ever saw, really it appeard not inferior to the vale of Evesham and the river simular to the Severne; the town seems pritty large tho' stragling. it is 15 Miles from Hartford. on our way home we mounted the hights of Rockey hill a small Town 7 Miles from Hartford, where we again were gratifyd with a beautifull view. Weathersfield is 4 Miles from Hartford and is a pritty large and well built town.

having amply gratify'd our curiossity in this fine country, we with some difficulty got a Waggon (cover'd) to carry us across the country to Albany, and on Sunday the 12th. (having obtained a written permission from the Mayor on account of the day) we set off. the country was pritty well cultivated to Farmington (12 Miles) where we got to breakfast, the road good; a very fine river serpentine through these plains, and joins the Connecticut river at Windsor. from hence the road became worse and the country hilly and little settled. we din'd at New Hartford 12 Miles a small villiage; a Mile from hence the green woods began. the road now became horrid and scarcely passable for a carriage. we mounted several very steep hills, and the rocks and stones made it difficult to proceed; now and then we met a small settlement in its infancy, but from the general aspect of the country, I shou'd judge when it is once very well settled that it will be very beautiful. the air as it lyes high is purer and cooler than the plains; we lay'd at a small villiage call'd Colebrooke 12 Miles and really our quarters were much better than I expected. they told us here that even now they sometimes saw Panthers in the woods, and wild cats, besides deer and other game; early next morning we proceeded and at the end of 4 Miles found a small villiage call'd Norfolk which is counted out of the hilly wood land. we breakfasted at Canaan a small town 4 Miles prittily situated. the country now appeard better settled. hence we went through Shiffeld¹ a small town to Great Barrington where we din'd, 14 Miles, the road good, the country hilly but pritty well settled. this is a small town its situation fine being in a valley where a river runs through. we lay'd at a small villiage call'd Stockbridge 13 Miles near where are some Iron works. next Morning we breakfasted at New Lebanon² 14 Miles, passing through Richmond 3 Miles a handsome town and prittily situated; the road good, and country well cultivated.

Lebanon is very extensive. in its district or Parish which extends 10 or 12 Miles as is the case with most of the towns in this new country are several Establishments one in particular very singular call'd the Shaking quakers street. these people being of both Sexes live in a state of celibacy. even those marry'd before on coming here are separated. they are very industrious have cleard a great deal of land and have got good buildings. on Sunday they pray, and what is unaccount-

¹ Passing now from Connecticut into Massachusetts.

² In New York.

ably singular dance to different tunes with such vehemance that the Men frequently are oblid. to throw off all their clothes but what decency requires to remain. they are in great subordination to their elders who directs the dance and prayers and regulates the whole Oconomy of the society. a prostitute who follow'd the English Camp is said to be the foundress.¹ it seems too absurd and too prejudicial to a rising population to last. they say when question'd, that dancing serves by its violent exercise to subdue their passions to venerly, but I have allways been inclin'd to think the reverse the fact. the spring of Lebanon was once more frequented than at present. it is a very weak water, and barely the chill taken off. its situation is beautifull, on a hill which commands the circumjacent country, which is well settled, and has several different villiages in the valley below; we found some invalids here and there are 4 or 5 good houses to accomodate lodgers.

at 12 o'Clock we continued our rout, and din'd at Stevens town 9 Miles, a small villiage. the country hilly, pretty well settled, and a fine stream running through the valley which empties itself into the North river at Kinderhook. we Slept at Phillips town a small villiage 7 Miles, and next Morning got to Albany 14 Miles, crossing the north river directly opposite the town; a great part of the last 21 Miles is but little settled, the road good, the country hilly, the whole distance from Hartford to Albany 115 Miles. the mountains of the green wood which I am told extend up to Canada seem a division design'd by nature between the North and Connecticut rivers.

Albany is situated on the North river at the foot of hills, which tho it shelters it from the cold in winter makes it exceeding hot in summer. the town is pritty large and has some good buildings in it. the streets are wide, the inhabitants are a mixture of Dutch and English, but the Dutch manners are disagreeably predominant. the circumjacent country is beautifull, a fine view of which is had from the hills at the back of the town. it is inconceivable what a great trade is carry'd on between this place and York for Grain lumber etc. I counted myself 30 sloops and Schooners at anchor, and am told there frequently is a hundred. the river here is about as broad as at London bridge, but it is navigable for sloops no higher. Mr Van Rhenselleir is possess'd of lands stretching 24 by 20 Miles, but the spot where the town of Albany stands tho' in the middle of his lands has its own rights etc.

I rode from hence one day to the falls of the Cohouse.² it is about nine Miles from Town the road along the North river till arriv'd at one of the branches of the Mohawk. it is three Miles up that river, the width there is broader than the Rhine, but it is not so high, nor near so much water except when there has been a great fall of rain or the snow melting. it then not only fills its bed but over flows the road and contiguous fields, and must certainly be a most magnificent sight. the fall is very little broken so that the sheet wou'd then be perfect.

¹ The reference is to Mother Ann Lee.

² Cohoes.

the 18th. I began my rout for Fort Geo: in a Waggon. we set off at noon, and got that night to Saratoga about 2 Miles from the creek where General Burgoyne was encamp'd when he surrendred and Genl. Schuyler had a house. it is 38 Miles from Albany. we pass'd Troys a small town 6 Miles [from] Albany, and Lansinberg or the New City (rather larger than the first) 9 Miles from Albany. Water town¹ is on the West side the North River, which at Troys begins to be very shallow and continues with only some intervals of deep water for 15 Miles so, when the still water begins which is deep enough. in time probably channels will be dug through these rapids to admit the passing of sloops, nor wou'd such a cut be attended with much expense. the road is all the way by the river side, (we ferry'd over it twice) is very good and the country well settled and pleasant, but on account of the highths on each side the river the view both E: and W: is confin'd. I remark'd the 4 mouths of the Mohawk river on the northenmost of which is Water town, I had some thoughts once of going to Schenectadé a town laying on the banks of the Mohawk about 8 Miles from the mouth, and thence to see the Springs of Satarago which by the accounts I had of them must be waters of great efficacy, but dreaded the roads and accomodations.

the next day (Sunday) being very rainy I did not stirr out. Monday 20th. about 11 oClock noon we arriv'd at Fort or Lake Geo: the road good and by the river side till 3 Miles past Fort Edward where we breakfasted. this is a small Town and the country mostly settled. $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile where the road turns off from the river is a pritty water fall call'd Wings fall. the platform of a solid rock over which the river runs, has a trough or canal worn into it through which the river when it is not expanded by a great quantity of water to cover over its whole bed rushes very impetuously. the fall which is a few feet higher up, is not high, but looks altogether very romantick. the country from hence is but poor and little settled, and the road within the 4 last Miles is very stoney; the lake furnishes a beautifull view. it is near $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile broad, surrounded by hills all cloath'd in wood, and full of Islands. the 2 Forts of Edward, and Wm. Henry are both destroy'd. the lands contiguous to the lake are but poor, in consequence there is but little of it cultivated.

next day very early I embark'd in a two oard boat, and about 2 oClock having mostly a fair wind arriv'd on the other side, or North. it is a very pleasant trip. one is amus'd by the view of the lake which is full of little Islands, tho' the surrounding hills which rise pritty steep from the edge of the lake are still in woods, except 2 or 3 small spots. when this lake is intirely cleared, it will become more beautifull. it is full of fine fish, and generally furnishes plenty to the passers. its length is 36 Miles, extreme bredth 2 Miles. I got with some difficulty a cart to carry my baggage over to Tycondaroga, and walk'd there my-

¹ Waterford is no doubt meant.

self. it is about three Miles, half way is a bridge over the outlet of Lake George which communicates with lake Champlain. it is here are the falls which are considerable, I think as high as the Cohouse but not so broad, nor did then the water expand to cover them. there is a fine saw and grist Mill below the fall. the country is here somewhat more clear'd and exhibits a fine appearance. the old French lines and Forts on Tycondaroga are in ruins. the surrounding plains are beautifull, and are now mostly in pasture, but have few inhabitants. I think the view from the flat eminence where the forts stood is a remarkable beautifull and must have been a healthy spot. it is a kind of tongue jutting into the lake and commands the pass, and on the opposite side of the lake is Forts Independance and Defiance in the state of Vermont. this communication of the lake is 20 Miles to the North of the head of lake Champlain where there is a small town call'd Skanesborough.

I found that I had done wrong in coming here. I should have gone to that place which is only 14 Miles more of land carriage, and promises a much more certain passage, for I had to depend here on the boats passing loaded from thence, and sometimes they go by in the night witht. calling in. I was forc'd to stay here 2 days before I cou'd find an oppority. the 23rd. at 3 oClock I embark'd in a row boat to go down the lake, and the wind being fair we made before night 30 Miles. the breadth of the lake dont appear thus far to be above $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles. the surrounding hills do not raise so rapidly as those [around] lake Geo: but leaving in general a plain next the side, and every 1 or 2 Miles is a settlement, or villiage. Crown point is on the East side, and commands a narrow pass. the ruins announce it to have been considerable. it is on a fine plain, but I shou'd think the hills at the back must have allways commanded it.

next morning early I continued my rout. the country and lake the same as the preceeding day for 20 Miles (in which distance we pass'd the river of New haven where 6 Miles up are very fine falls, on which river are Iron forges, Grist and Saw Mills) when the lake becomes much wider and encreases 'till it is 23 Miles over, in an eastern bay of which lays Burlington a small town. Grand Isle begins here which runs as the lake for 24 Miles, and 3 Miles broad, then is La Mot's Isle, the lake again gradually decreasing, and about La Motts Isle the land seems low and swampy. the first british post is at Dutchmans point where is a Corporals guard. the second is at Point au fer where is a Capns. Guard, and an Arm'd Schooner; the next post is at Isle aux Noix where is also a Capns. Guard. this Isle is very small; there are very few settlers after passing the first post, from whence the country seems a perfect swamp, swarming with flies and Muskatoes and having very few settlements till arriv'd at St John's where we did not get till the 25th. at 3 oClock in the afternoon.

the Lake from Isle aux noix is very narrow not $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile broad, and it seems a miserable swamp, and only 3 log houses in 15 Miles. indeed

most of the houses on this lake are built in the same manner, and the entertainment and lodging is most execrably bad, nor do I think it is much better at St. John's; the Barracks within the Fort, and the houses witht. belonging to private people, being mostly in the same stile, the whole as well as the ramparts and other parts of the fortification being much out of repair. the plain it is situated on is somewhat elevated, and has been clear'd to considerable distance to render it wholesome. the soil seems good furnishing a good natural pasture, and is no doubt capable of improvement. a 20 Gun Ship, and the Hulls of several lesser are laying opposite the town, where a short space more will turn them into rotten dust. the Garn. [Garrison] consists of 6 Compys. commanded by a Lieutt. Col.: just without the fort is a rising ground where they bury the dead, which is much higher than where the fort stands. the Americans attack'd it from hence for it intirely commands it, and it seems this ground has been mostly clear'd since the last War.

the 26th. after breakfast I sent forward my baggage by a Cart, and myself mounted a horse, and rode all the way by the side of the river St. Johns to Chambli. this whole road appears (12 Miles) as one continued villiage. most of the land which is clear'd is in pasture tho' I saw some wheat that appear'd pritty thriving. the opposite side of the river is also somewhat settled; the Fort here is a square, and now serves as barracks for a company that is quarterd here. it has no ditch, and could make no defence agt. cannon. the Town is stragling, but pritty extensive and has some good houses in it. the view from the fort is beautifully picturesque. the river from St. Johns to here is full of rapids, but from hence to Sorel where it joins the St. Laurence, it is navigable.

after dining at the Fort at 3 oClock, I continued my rout mostly by the side of the small river Chambli which is exceedingly crooked and muddy, to Longueville; the country is all clear'd except a breadth of about 3 Miles, which I am told runs in a line till it joins the woods of St. John's. the land is so flat that it is very subject to be cover'd by the rains but from the luxuriency of the pastures I shou'd judge the soil to be very rich, the houses of the Farmers are mostly log, and are much inferior in neatness to those of the states. the roads this way which is directly across the country that separates the 2 rivers, are exceedingly bad, and it was late before I arriv'd tho' the distance is call'd only 15 Miles. Longueville is a very extensive tho' very stragling town. the best houses and thickest together are on the banks of the river near the Church. here is also a small Fort but not garrison'd.

when I gain'd the river St. Laurance which I did 2 Miles above the ferry the view of Montreal and the mountain behind it look'd very beautiful but the river here is too shallow and rapid to admit a passage across, and it being late I slept at the Ferry. there is another rout to go to Montreal by La Praire 18 Miles from St. John's, and taking boat from thence down the river to Montreal which is 10 Miles below it, but as

it is sometimes uncertain I prefer'd the other way. the French language is the only one the peasants know, and they have retain'd also their manners, and the old French dress of a close Cassock and sash. next morning I cross'd. the river is extremely rapid but as the wind was fair I got over in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. a small Island lys midway on which a Capn. Grant lives who has a Mill there and has made it a beautifull spot.

Montreal is long but very narrow having but two principal streets which run the length of the town, the houses are mostly stone, low and in the French stile. some of the Churches are handsome. the streets are pav'd but are narrow. it is wall'd round and has ramparts but they are gone to decay, and the ditch is near fill'd up; there is a hill¹ just behind the town that intirely comds. it, and from the top of this hill I had a most beautifull and extensive view of the country, which is mostly a plaine and seems pritty well cultivated. nothing can be grander than the flowing through it of the river St. Laurance, which about 6 or 7 Miles above the town begins to be too rocky and rapid to be navigable but for flat bottom'd boats. they have at some expence render'd easy its communication with the Lakes; and no doubt time will greatly improve it, as the country is settled very much allready, and is dayly encreasing; the largest ships mount up to the Town with safety, and unload and load here; and their export in Wheat and Flower is prodigious. most of the farms in this neighborhood are inhabited by Canadians, who are averse to improvement, and seem but a lazy set of people, and very superstitious.

I stay'd here 2 days and on the 29th. (there is a Regt. lays here) embark'd on board a very small Schooner for Quebec. we got down as low as Sorel by night and anchor'd 15 Leagues. the country on both sides beautifull, and well cultivated and seemd one intire villiage. the next day it was very calm but by the current we with some difficulty got through the Lake which is a very broad part of the river St. Laurance, full of little Islands and on that account difficult of navigation. the Islands are full of wood, and are swampy which makes them swarm with Muskatoes, but on the main shore the Settlements are pritty thick. this lake continues 7 Leagues when the river becomes narrower. we next pass'd Trois Rivieres a pritty little town 3 Leagues below the lake, and continuing our rout made this day 25 Leagues when at night we anchor'd near a dangerous shoal. the country began after passing the lake to be less flat, the settlements the same, the Parishes being established at 2 Leagues each in extent; next morning we pass'd the abovemention'd shoal and also another still more dangerous 6 Leagues below it call'd the Rapids. here the country is beautifully picturesque, the houses built handsomer and more numerous.

about 2 oClock in the afternoon, the wind chang'd and blew fresh agt. us, at the same time also the tide chang'd (which flows up as high as the Rapids) so that we were necessited to anchor about 3 Leagues

¹ Mount Royal.

above Quebec the whole distance 60 Leagues and as I found myself very much fatigued with my bad lodging, I got the Capn. to land me at the last post, and went to Quebec in a Calash, which I had reason to rejoice at as by that means I had an opportunity of seeing from the road which is on a Terrace the beautiful and thick settled plain which extends from a river I pass'd near the Post house, to the City of Quebec. the Post for travellers was establish'd by the French. it is a Calash with one Horse, which can occasionally carry two persons and pays 12d. pr. League. it goes all the way from Montreal but is very fatiguing, and the Inns on the road very bad, nor does one see so much of the country that way as by water as the road is by the side of the river all the way. the City of Quebec lays below the terrace on which the road is, nor does one see it 'till just entering it. it is divided into upper and lower towns. the upper is on the declivity of a hill and is surrounded by a wall, the part next the river is perpendicular, where are strong batteries of cannon, that intirely comd. the river. the lower Town is built on a very small space between the foot of the rock and the river, the streets of which are very irregular. the principal is very long. warfs are made here for the shipping but the fall of the tide is so consble that it is inconvenient unloading but at high water. the houses here are but indifferent and the streets not very clean or well pav'd; the upper town is much better built, and has two long streets pritty regular. some of the buildings are good; the Govt. house is spacious and from the balcony which seems to hang over the rock there is a fine view. the Jesuits colledge is spacious. it is now turn'd into barracks. the churches and Convents remain as in the French time with all their rights. the Cathedral is a large but rude pile. the fortifications on the hill where also is the Citadel are very extensive and wou'd demand an enormous Garrison but cannot from their situation notwithstanding the expense they have been to the Govt. be strong, as there is a hill at a small distance which if it is not higher, is at least as high, and wou'd offer a most excellent situation for a Battery agt. it; the plains of Abraham are adjoining and are pritty extensive. the part where Genl. Wolf got up does not appear very steep, and has now a very good cart road up it.

next day the 2d. July I rode to the falls of Montmorancy about 9 miles. I pass'd a small river near the Grand Hospital (where is also the order of nuns that take care of the sick) which winds very much, and by the town of Beauport, got to a Villiage adjoining the falls, where I left my horse, and passing the grounds of Genl. Halde-mand where he has built him a pleasant wooden house, descended by a wooden stair case in his Garden to a small Pavillion which is suspended over the bason where the river falls, the height is about 245 feet perpendicular, the breadth ¹ feet and take it altogether I think it is the finest fall I ever saw. I afterwards took a road that leads

¹ Blank in MS.

below and rode down to the mouth of the river, where certainly it appears to its greatest advantage; above the falls was a battery, and the aspect of the whole country hereabouts is beautifully romantick. the prospect of the Island of Orleans which is 7 Miles long and very well inhabited which here divides the river St. Laurant not a little heightens the scene.

next day I drove to the Indian Town of Loretta, the country is pritty well cultivated, about a hundred Indians have domesticated themselves here. the Men hunt, the women cultivate the ground, and between them they seem to make out a comfortable way of life. indeed except in dress they differ very little from the Canadians. they have a Church, and an old Jesuit occasionally officiates by whose documents [*sic*] they have form'd a very fine choir of female voices. the river I mention'd in passing to Montmorancy runs through the villiage and exhibits a romantick cataract of water on which they have a grist mill; next day very early I went in a boat about 7 Miles up the river, to a little river which there falls into the St. Laurant under the name of the Chaudiere; about 2 Miles up this river is a very fine fall broader than that of Montmorancy but not above half its height, nor is it so perfect, as a rock that juts out about the middle divides the sheet of water. the spot about here is as savagely romantick as any I ever beheld, and altogether is as well worth seeing as the other, tho the road to get at it is rather inconvenient; I was told much about the 7 falls of St. Anns, but the difficulty attending the getting there tho' only 7 Leagues from Quebec, hinder'd my attempting it.

next day I rode out on the plains of Abraham, from whence is the most extensive and romantick view one can possibly conceive. I continued my course through a wood and joining the high road to Montreal again had the rich and beautifull view which is exhibited from this terrace. in the Evening I walk'd all round the ramparts which afford a pritty walk, and got up to the Citidel from whence one comds. the whole surrounding country to a great extent.

the people in the Govt. of Quebec dont seem to be very contented. the Seigniorial rights gall the Bourgeoisé and make them wish to participate of the same rights as are now establish'd in France. the Seigniors on the contrary are very jealous, and as much as they dare exert their power. the English settlers complain they are deceivd, as they came here in expectation of the English laws prevailing. the Law at present is a strange heterogeneous mixture and by no means permanent. very far are the inhabitants in general from following that Industry, Oconomy and Sobriety of the American colonies. it struck me the difference was to the full as great as I have in travelling in Europe observ'd it to be, between the free and tyrannick states; the Duties from the fur and grain trade dont half pay the expenses attending the large sallerys of the officers of Govt., and it must strike every disinterested person that it wou'd be a saving to great Britain and a happi-

ness to the people if our Garrisons and civil officers were withdrawn and they left to govern themselves as soon as parliament have settled the division of the provinces, and put them in a way to go through with it, nor shou'd we lose any advantage we at present reap from their trade. on the contrary it wou'd by a liberal treaty be very much augmented.

having seen everything in Canada that was the most worth seeing and wishing to get to Europe time enough to participate of the summer I took my passage in a ship nam'd the Chalmly Capn. Cayley bound to Liverpool, and on Wednesday the 6th. at 12 oClock took our departure from Quebec, which exhibits a fine appearance from point Levey. it being a fine day and a pleasant gale our trip down the river was very intertaining, and we had a most delightfull view of the falls of Montmorancy, the Island of Orleans. the shores on each side seem very well settled appearing in a manner as one continued villiage; towards the close of the day We pass'd several Islands, but they don't appear settled. we put our Pilot on shore on Green Island of which he was Lord, the next day, and on Fryday coasted along Anticosta an Island as yet unsettled. it is about 100 Miles long and is capable of producing every necessary of life.

we meant to go by the streights of Bellisle which much shortens the distance going the Northwds. of New Foundland instead of the Southward, but the winds not suiting we gaind the Banks, so that I lost the opportunity of seeing the Esquimaux, who generally board the vessels passing; after coming on the banks a thick fog surrounded us, and the wind subsiding we caught some fish, when the breeze springing up dispell'd the fog a little and we saw several Ships, Brigs etc fishing. after this we had nothing but thick weather with a fair wind till we were near the coast of Ireland, when it cleard up for a day or two.

the 27th. on Thursday we made Cape Clear early in the morning, but the wind coming due South attended by a thick fog we lost sight of it again. some pilot boats boarded us from whom we got some fish and potatoes, but a strong gale coming on I was unluckily prevented landing as was my intention in Ireland. the weather continued thick with a strong gale all Fryday and next morning we made Holy head coasting along the Welch coast under our courses on acct. of the wind, but the weather clear and fine, and affording a good prospect of the country. we got to Liverpool Dock the 30th. in the evening when I instantly stept on shore, and next morning being Sunday was intertain'd with viewing the great improvements that had been made about the exchange and contiguous streets; I found also that several new Docks had been built since I was here in 1784.

3. *Project of Latin-American Confederation, 1856*

THE consultations which have been in progress this summer at Rio de Janeiro lend additional interest to the following papers.

For the opportunity to see them, the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Mr. Luis M. Pérez, who discovered them in the course of his work in the Archivo Nacional of Cuba for the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, in the preparation of his forthcoming *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Cuban Archives*. It is unusual to be able to present in print the texts of confidential diplomatic documents of so recent date as 1856. Most such documents preserved in the correspondence of the captains-general of Cuba were doubtless included in the large masses of papers transported to Spain in 1898. But, partly by accident, partly through the patriotic foresight of the late Professor Manuel Villanova of the Instituto of Havana, certain portions escaped transportation and were preserved to the national archives of Cuba. The papers here presented are found among the Villanova Papers in that repository, in the bundle devoted to 1856. The translation is furnished by Mr. Pérez. Señor Juan de Zavala was the Spanish secretary of state, Señor Alfonso de Escalante was minister of Spain to the United States, October, 1855–November, 1856. The reader may compare Francisco Bilbao, *Iniciativa de la América: Idea de un Congreso Federal de las Repúblicas* (pph., Paris, 1856); Lastarria, Covarrubias, Santa María, and Vicuña Mackenna, *Colección de Ensayos i Documentos relativos á la Union i Confederacion de los Pueblos Hispano-Americanos, publicada á espensas de la "Sociedad de la Union Americana de Santiago de Chile"* (Santiago, 1862); and J. M. Torres Caicedo, *Union Latino-Americana, Pensamiento de Bolívar para formar una Liga Americana; su Origen y sus Desarrollos* (Paris, 1865, French edition, Paris, 1875).

I. ZAVALA TO THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CUBA

PRIMERA SECRETARIA DE ESTADO.

DIRECCION POLITICA.

Exño Señor

Con esta fecha digo al Ministro Plenipotenciario de S.M. en Washington lo que sigue

"Se han recibido en esta Primera Secretaria los Despachos de V.E señalados con los números 18 y 20 y fechados el 23 y 28 de Febrero último, en los que dá cuenta de varias conferencias celebradas en su casa por los representantes de las Repúblicas españolas y del Ymperio del Brasil, con obgeto de formar una especie de Confederacion ó Dieta que asegure su independencia y cuyo proyecto de bases, acordado en una de las reuniones, acompaña V.E. á su comunicación del 23.

"Este pensamiento de estrecha alianza y mútua defensa, en que tanta parte ha tomado V.E., no puede menos de merecer la aprobacion

del Gobierno de S.M. lealmente interesado en el desarrollo de aquellos ricos países, que durante largos siglos pertenecieron á la Corona de Castilla, y que tienen hoy, y tendrán siempre de comun entre sí, y con nosotros la historia, las costumbres, la religion y el idioma. Agitadas las Repúblicas españolas por continuas y estériles luchas que aniquilan su vitalidad y las esponen á la ambicion de cualquiera potencia fuerte que en el continente americano se levante, convieneles mas que á los Estados europeos agruparse para hacerse respetables y someter á una autoridad federativa y superior sus contiendas para ir estirpando tanto gérmen de discordias como ahora encierran.

"El Gobierno de S.M. se complace tambien en que desechado el espíritu de intolerancia política, que anteriormente habia presidido á esta idea de Congreso americano español, entre á formar parte integrante de él y aun á ser asiento de la futura Confederacion, el imperio del Brasil, nacion importante, de raza afín á la nuestra, y que en el desenvolvimiento progresivo de sus instituciones y de su industria está probando á las repúblicas sus vecinas, que en la actual situacion del mundo civilizado, la monarquia, lejos de oponer un obstáculo á la libertad y prosperidad de los pueblos, es uno de sus mas firmes apoyos y de sus mas eficaces protectores.

"De desear es por lo tanto que el proyecto de que V.E. habla en sus despachos se realice cuanto antes, contando como no dudo contará, con la cooperacion de las potencias europeas, y muy particularmente con la de Ynglaterra y Francia, las cuales así como España verán con satisfacion consolidarse en América un órden de cosas estable, una política verdaderamente nacional, producto de sus necesidades comunes y de sus mutuos recelos, y una bien entendida libertad que al paso que proteja su sistema de gobierno y sus intereses, les sirva para estrechar mas y mas los vínculos que les unen con el antiguo continente y sobre todo con la nacion de que proceden, que un día se llamó su metrópoli y que se considera todavia por el afecto que profesa á los españoles de allende los mares como una madre cariñosa.

"No concluiré este Despacho sin advertir á V.E. que entre las bases de confederacion que me remite y que en su gran mayoría son aceptables y apropósito para alcanzar el objeto de esa asociacion internacional, hay alguna que debe considerarse como contraria á los adelantos que tanto necesitan las repúblicas americanas, y que en nada contribuirá por otra parte á afianzar sus derechos legítimos y á desvanecer cualesquiera peligros que en un porvenir mas próximo ó mas remoto pudieran presentarse. Citaré á V.E., por ejemplo, la que exige el cambio de nacionalidad á los concesionarios de obras públicas como ferro-carriles y canales, pues ademas de que semejante prohibicion privaria á los países confederados de inmensos capitales y elementos considerables de riqueza, no debe perderse de vista que las compañías ó particulares que concurren con su industria y sus fortunas á este género de empresas, ni van á promover perturbaciones ni tienen interés en que se promuevan; antes por el

contrario dan la fianza mas segura de estar identificados con la suerte de los pueblos adonde llevan una y otras.

“Con las gestiones sucesivas que el pensamiento de alianza ocasione, cree el Gobierno de S. M. escusado encargar á V. E. el mayor tino y la mas esquisita prudencia para no ofender la susceptibilidad de la Union Anglo-americana á pesar de que esta no podrá ver en el enunciado proyecto mas que una imitacion aunque imperfecta de lo que con brillante resultado llevaron á cabo las antiguas colonias inglesas despues de su emancipacion, y lo que hace siglos pactaron los cantones suizos y los Estados alemanes cuyas confederaciones, lejos de inspirar recelos á sus vecinos, son por ellos consideradas como una garantia de órden y de paz para la Europa entera.

“Sirvase V. E. dar las gracias en nombre del Gobierno de S. M. á los representantes de las republicas americanas que le autorizaron para transmitir, como escepcion honorífica para nosotros el proyecto de Dieta, haciéndoles partícipes de los sentimientos espresados en este Despacho, y asegurándoles que ninguna nacion forma mas ardientes votos que esta para que aquella sea una verdad y para que una vez realizada contribuya al mayor esplendor y bienestar de la raza española en América.”

De Real órden lo traslado á V. E. para su conocimiento y efectos oportunos, remitiéndole copia del Despacho No. 20 del Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. M. en Washington y del proyecto de Confederacion de las republicas americanas.

Dios gue á V. E. mis. as.

Madrid 22 de Marzo 1856.

JUAN DE ZAVALA.

S[eñ]or Capitan General de la Ysla de Cuba.

Está conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

OFFICE OF THE FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE.
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Excellent Sir:

Under this date I say the following to Her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Washington:

“There have been received at this office of the First Secretary [of State] Your Excellency's despatches, marked numbers 18 and 20 and dated the 23d and 28th of last February, giving account of various conferences held at Your Excellency's house by the representatives of the Spanish republics and of the empire of Brazil, with the object of forming a species of confederation or diet to insure their independence, and inclosing in the communication of the 23d the proposed bases agreed upon at one of the meetings.

“This thought of close alliance and mutual defense, in which Your Excellency has taken so much part, cannot but merit the approval of Her Majesty's government, loyally interested in the development of those rich countries which during long centuries belonged to the

crown of Castile, and which have to-day and will always have in common with us the same history, customs, religion, and language. The Spanish republics, agitated by continued and sterile strife, which consumes their vitality and exposes them to the ambition of any strong power which may appear on the American continent, are more concerned than European states would be, to associate in order to make themselves more respected, and to submit their differences to a federative and superior authority in order to eradicate from among them the many germs of discord they now contain.

"Her Majesty's government is also pleased that the spirit of political intolerance which had previously controlled this idea of a Spanish-American Congress should have been laid aside, and that the empire of Brazil, an important nation, of a race akin to ours, and which in the progressive development of her institutions and of her industry is proving to her neighbor republics that monarchy, in the present situation of the civilized world, so far from imposing an obstacle to the liberty and prosperity of peoples, is one of their firmest supports and their most effective protectors, should constitute an integral part, and even be the seat, of the future confederation.

"It is therefore to be desired that the project of which Your Excellency's despatches speak should be realized as soon as possible, with reliance, I doubt not, on the co-operation of the European powers, and very especially of England and France, who, like Spain, would view with satisfaction the consolidation of a stable order of things in America, and of a policy truly national, the product of their common necessities and of their common apprehensions and of an enlightened liberty which, while protecting their system of government and their interests, would serve to link them closer to the Old World and above all to the nation of their origin, which once was called their mother-country, and which yet considers herself, because of the regard which she professes for the Spaniards beyond the seas, an affectionate mother.

"I will not close this despatch without stating to Your Excellency that among the bases of confederation remitted, of which the great majority are acceptable and suitable to obtain the object of this international association, there are some which ought to be considered contrary to the advancement which is so necessary to the American republics and which, moreover, will nowise contribute to assure their legitimate rights nor to remove whatever dangers may arise in the present or more remote future. I will mention to Your Excellency, for instance, that which requires a change of nationality on the part of those who receive concessions for public works, such as railroads and canals; for not only would a condition of this sort deprive the confederated countries of immense capital and considerable elements of wealth, but it should not be lost sight of that companies or private individuals who contribute with their industry and their fortunes to this kind of enterprise

neither promote disturbances nor think it to their interest that they should be promoted; on the contrary, they give the surest guaranties of being identified with the lot of the country to which they carry both their industry and their fortunes.

"Her Majesty's government considers it unnecessary to recommend to Your Excellency to use the greatest tact and the most exquisite prudence in the further steps which may be taken to carry out the idea of alliance, in order not to offend the susceptibility of the Anglo-American Union, in spite of the fact that it can see in the declared project nothing more than an imitation, though imperfect, of the union which the ancient English colonies so brilliantly achieved after their emancipation, and of those which centuries ago were framed by the Swiss cantons and the German states, confederations which so far from inspiring their neighbors with apprehensions are by them considered as a guaranty of order and peace for the whole of Europe.

"Your Excellency will please to convey the thanks of Her Majesty's government to the representatives of the American republics who authorized Your Excellency to transmit the project of the diet, making an honorific exception of us; inform them of the sentiments expressed in this despatch and assure them that no nation entertains more ardent desires than ours that the diet be an accomplished fact, and that, once realized, it should contribute to the greater splendor and well-being of the Spanish race in America."

By royal order I transmit this for Your Excellency's information and suitable purposes, inclosing copy of the despatch number 20 from Her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Washington and the project of confederation of the American republics.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

JUAN DE ZAVALA.

MADRID, March 22, 1856.

To the Captain-general of the Island of Cuba.

A true copy.

II. ESCALANTE TO ZAVALA

LEGACION DE ESPAÑA EN WASHINGTON.

Exmo. Señor.

Muy Señor mio;

En mi comunicacion f[ec]ha 23. del actual, manifesté á V. E. que, fijo constantemente mi pensamiento en asegurar por todos los medios imaginables nuestra hermosa Antilla, nada omitia por mi parte con los Representantes aquí de la America Española, á fin de que conjurasen el peligro que de esta poderosa República amenaza á aquellos Estados y que de otra manera necesariamente llegaría á comprometer nuestras mismas posesiones. Tambien indicaba á V. E. la entrevista tenida entre dichos Señores y el Ministro de Francia, quien me habia pedido le presentase á ellos; las dos reuniones celebradas ya; y por último, la prudencia y tacto con que procuraba conducirme y atendida

mi posicion oficial y las circunstancias de los Gobiernos representados.

Sin tescanso en mis gestiones, puedo ahora comunicar á V. E. que ha tenido lugar nuevamente una junta privada, pero mas formal, en mi propia casa, á la cual han asistido los Representantes diplomáticos de Guatemala y S. Salvador, Nicaragua, Costarica, Perú, Venezuela y Brasil, únicos á la sazón en Washington, debiendo contarse igualmente con los de Méjico y Nueva Granada que se hallan ausentes. El resultado de esta larga conferencia ha sido acordar que se proponga inmediatamente á sus Gobiernos la conveniencia de formar una especie de Dieta ó Congreso, en que todos esten representados, y que provea á la defensa de la independendencia comun y establezca relaciones de una union estrecha y permanente entre toda la antigua America Española y Rio Janeiro. Conforme al parecer de estos Señores los medios mas eficaces y adecuados para el logro del referido propósito y que deberian ser objeto de la discusion del pretendido Congreso, son las que se apuntan en el adjunto escrito no. 1, el cual han resuelto comunicar por mi conducto solo á España, si bien autorizandome á mi para que en nombre de ellos dé conocimiento verbal del asunto, aunque en concreto, á mis Colegas de Ynglaterra y Francia. Así lo he verificado, creyendo ambos Ministros de grande oportunidad este paso en el presente complicado estado de las cosas.

Todo lo que, como debo, me apresuro á poner en noticia de V. E.

Dios gue á V. E. ms. as.

WASHINGTON 28. de Febrero de 1856.

Exmo Señor, B. L. M. de V. E. su atento seguro servidor,

(firmado) ALFONSO DE ESCALANTE

Está conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

SPANISH LEGATION AT WASHINGTON.

Excellent Sir:

My dear Sir:

In my communication dated the 23d instant I stated to Your Excellency that my thoughts being constantly fixed on the preservation of our fair Antille by all means imaginable, I left nothing undone on my part with the representatives here of Spanish America in order that they might remove the peril which threatens those states from this powerful republic, and which otherwise will necessarily endanger our own possessions. I also reported to Your Excellency the interview between the aforesaid gentlemen and the French minister,¹ who had asked me to introduce him to them; the two meetings already held; and lastly the prudence and tact with which I endeavored to conduct myself in view of my official position and of the circumstances of the governments represented.

Having been unceasing in my exertions, I am now able to communicate to Your Excellency that a private but more formal meeting has

¹ Count de Sartiges.

since taken place at my own house, attended by the diplomatic representatives of Guatemala and San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Peru, Venezuela, and Brazil, the only ones at this season in Washington. The representatives of Mexico and New Granada, who were absent, should likewise be counted on. The result of this long conference has been the determination to propose immediately to their governments the formation of a species of diet or congress in which all shall be represented and which shall provide for the defense of their common independence and establish relations of close and permanent union between all ancient Spanish America and Rio Janeiro. The most effective and adequate measures, according to the view of these gentlemen, for realizing the purpose indicated, and which should be made the object of discussion of the proposed congress, are those which are set down in the inclosed document number 1, which they have resolved should be communicated through me only to Spain, though authorizing me to give verbal information in detail to my colleagues of England and France. So I have done, and both ministers are of the opinion that the step is an exceedingly timely one in the present complicated state of things.

I hasten to inform Your Excellency of all, as is my duty.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1856.

Excellent Sir, Kissing the hands of Your Excellency, I am Your Excellency's respectful and faithful servant,

(signed) ALFONSO DE ESCALANTE.

A true copy.

III. THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Proyecto de una Confederación de los Estados independientes de la America española y portuguesa quedando todos ellos en el pleno goce de su respectiva soberanía y ligados solamente por la defensa comun de todos ellos.

Los obgetos de la Confederación solo serán, hacerse cada Estado mas respetable por la union de todos los Confederados; asegurar asi mas y mas la respectiva independencia, garantizarse mutuamente la integridad de sus territorios, afianzar la paz interior y exterior y estrechar los vinculos de la amistad y las relaciones de comercio que exigen la comunidad de intereses.

Las bases sobre las cuales podria establecerse la confederacion parece que serian las siguientes:

1a. Comprometerse los Confederados á no consentir ninguno de ellos que fuesen atacados por nacion alguna la independencia, ni la integridad [sic] de territorio de otro confederado, mirando como enemigo comun al invasor ó al ofensor de cualquiera de los Estados de la Confederacion.

2a. Comprometerse todos á no ceder jamás, ni á enegenar [enajenar] ninguna parte de sus territorios, ni á consentir que dentro de sus límites se formen Colonias de naturaleza nacional extranjera, sino que por el

contrario todo colono al establecerse en los Estados Confederados esté obligado á renunciar á la nacionalidad de su origen jurando no reconocer otras leyes, ni otras autoridades, ni otra proteccion que los del Estado en que se establezca.

3a. Comprometerse del mismo modo á no conceder privilegios para hacer caminos, canales, ni obras semejantes, á ciudadanos ó compañías extranjeras, sino en el caso de que dichos ciudadanos ó compañías hagan la misma renuncia de su nacionalidad y contraigan la misma obligación que los Colonos de no reconocer otras leyes, ni otras autoridades, ni otra proteccion que la del Estado en que se hagan aquellas obras; evitando así que llegue el caso en que estos privilegios sean motivo de reclamaciones de Gobiernos extranjeros.

4a. Para estrechar la union entre los Confederados sería conveniente que serian tenidos los ciudadanos de un Estado en todos los demas como si fuesen nativos de ellos, menos para el desempeño de aquellos empleos que exigen el nacimiento en el Estado.

5a. Cada uno de los Estados que formen la alianza podría tener un representante permanente en la Côte de Rio Janeiro, en donde se debería reunir la Dieta de la Confederacion á la cual pertenecería el arreglo de todos los negocios de interés y de beneficio general.

6a. En las discusiones que ocurriesen entre uno y otro Estado de los Confederados procurará la Dieta que se transijan las diferencias amigablemente, evitando con el mayor empeño que se turbe la paz entre los aliados, y tratando de que reine entre todos la mas perfecta armonia.

7a. En el caso no esperado de que ocurra algun motivo de desavenencia entre uno de los Estados confederados y una Nacion extranjera, la Dieta examinará la cuestion observando los principios de una estricta justicia; y si hallase que el Confederado no tiene razon, procurará que ceda sus pretensiones, ó dé la satisfaccion que sea debida; pero siempre resistiendo que se exija del Confederado lo que no sea justo, y lo que se oponga á los intereses de la Confederacion.

Esta conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

Project of a confederation of the independent states of Spanish and Portuguese America, all of them remaining in the full enjoyment of their respective sovereignty and allied only for the common defense of them all.

The objects of the confederation shall only be to make each state more respected by the union of all the confederates; to insure in this manner more and more their respective independence; to guarantee mutually the integrity of their territories; to assure internal and external peace and to bind closer the ties of friendship and the relations of commerce which the community of interests demands.

The bases on which the confederation might be established would seem to be the following:

1st. The confederates to bind themselves not to consent, any of them, that the independence or integrity of the territory of another shall be attacked by any nation, and to treat the invader or offender of any of the states of the confederation as a common enemy.

2d. All to bind themselves never to cede or to alienate any part of their territories nor to consent that colonies of foreign nationality shall be formed within their limits; but on the contrary that every colonist on establishing himself in the confederate states shall be obliged to renounce the nationality of his origin and take an oath to recognize no other laws, nor other authority, nor other protection than those of the state in which he settles.

3d. To bind themselves likewise not to concede privileges to make roads, canals, or similar works to foreign citizens or companies unless these citizens or companies renounce their nationality in the same manner and contract the same obligation as the colonists to recognize no other laws, nor other authority, nor other protection than those of the state in which they undertake such works; thus preventing these privileges from giving rise to claims on the part of foreign governments.

4th. To draw closer the union of the confederates it would be appropriate to declare that the citizens of one state should be regarded in all the others as if they were natives of them, except for the discharge of those employments which require birth in the state.

5th. Each of the states forming the alliance should be entitled to have a permanent representative at the court of Rio Janeiro, where the diet of the confederation should meet, to which should belong the determination of all matters of general interest and benefit.

6th. In the disputes which arise between one state and another of the confederation the diet will contrive to bring about an amicable settlement, avoiding with the greatest concern any disturbance of the peace between the allies, and endeavoring that the most perfect harmony shall reign among all.

7th. In the event, which it is hoped might not occur, that some cause of disagreement should arise between one of the confederate states and a foreign nation, the diet will examine the question, observing the principles of strictest justice, and, should it find that right is not on the side of the confederate, it will endeavor to cause it to yield its claim or to give the satisfaction which is due; but resisting in every case a demand on the confederate which is not just and which is contrary to the interests of the confederation.

A true copy.

4. *Letter of Stephen R. Mallory, 1861*

THE following letter, the manuscript of which is at present in the possession of the managing editor, was addressed by Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Davis, to some friend in Florida. The name of the person to whom it was

addressed has been cut from the manuscript. From internal evidence and from the fact that, with the exception of the last paragraph and the signature, it is written in the handwriting of a clerk, it may be inferred that it was one of several copies sent out by Secretary Mallory for purposes of local vindication.

Stephen R. Mallory, born in the island of Trinidad in 1813, was United States senator from Florida from 1851 to 1861. When secession began he was chairman of the Senate committee on naval affairs. Throughout the existence of the Confederacy he was its Secretary of the Navy. He died in 1873.

MONTGOMERY ALA. Mar. 22. 1861.

My dear sir,

Though busily engaged in organizing the Navy Department here and aiding to launch our new Ship of State, I have desired for several days to write you and have stolen an hour this Sunday morning to do so. As it specially concerns myself however I must apologize in advance for what I fear may prove tedious if not an infliction upon you, but I have determined to state facts to honorable men here and there in our State, as my time may admit of, whose judgment I respect and whose confidence irrespective of private friendship I am of course solicitous to obtain. *You are one of these.*

It was my good fortune in Washington throughout my last term there and up to the day of my departure to cooperate with the Senators from the Border States, (in caucus) and with other good and true men in advancing the common interests of our Section. On opinions as to the course of the Buchanan Administration, and as to those which it was expedient for the Seceding States to pursue there was a happy unanimity.

Pensacola was an interesting point, and with regard to our course there I was frequently brought into action, receiving as I did telegraphic news from Chase¹ in command there, and from other friends and laying these before our Southern friends in caucus.

It was a fatal error not to have taken "*Pickins*".² I did what I could to bring this about, I telegraphed Gov. Perry³ and Major Chase both upon the subject and also a friend in Pensacola and from thence Capt Bright of the Guard sent him a telegraphic request for permission to take it. He may not have received either, but at all events he acted from the best lights in his possession and let that pass. When the U. S. forces moved into Pickins, Chase telegraphed me he could not take the work without assault at an immense sa[c]rifice of life and total annihilation of the garrison. I at once showed it to my colleague Mr. Yulee

¹ Colonel William H. Chase, commanding the Florida forces at Pensacola; formerly an officer of engineers in the United States army.

² On Lieutenant Slemmer's move from Fort Barrancas to Fort Pickens, see Lieutenant-colonel J. H. Gilman's article, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor", in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I. 26-32.

³ Governor M. S. Perry of Florida.

and every Senator of the Border States. Upon full consultation it was unanimously agreed to send a telegram to Chase telling him that the capture of the work was not worth in the then condition of affairs one drop of blood.

The Senators of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi [*sic*], Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas and Florida signed it and the *original* I have,¹ but Chase had no idea of assaulting it believing [*sic*] it to be madness to do so. As Chairman of the Naval Committee I was of course kept advised more or less of the designs of the Navy Department, and I thus learned that four Ships of War were ordered to Pensacola, with heavy batteries.² Upon inquiring I found they were ordered to sail into the Harbor lie close to the Fort and cooperate with it. I knew that Barrancas and McRae were reported by Chase to be untenable, that the few heavy guns were spiked and dismounted, that he could not raise a finger to prevent the entrance of these ships, and that if even he could it would entail upon us the firing of the first gun, and ensure the destruction of these works and the Navy Yard.

Hence after full consideration with our Southern Senators, I exerted every argument with the President and Secretary to keep them out at Sea, and at last by asserting boldly that we would raise said batteries and sink them at their anchors, that their coming in was a warlike menace, That I would man and fire the first gun myself etc etc. I got them to countermand their orders and to render this secure I induced the Secty to send Capt Barron U. S. Navy³ with me to Pensacola, who proceeded to every ship as she came in sight of the Port and warned her off.⁴ Thus they were kept out and we were not demoralized by their presence, and they are still with two additional vessels at sea off the Port. But for this these ships would have entered the Port unmolested.

On my way home⁵ I saw by the telegraphic news that the Brooklyn was ordered with troops to reinforce "Pickins".⁶ This I know was not the work of the President or Secretary, but of Holt and Scott. I went at once to Chase and asked him whether he could prevent the reinforcement and he answered me that he could not and would not attempt it. I knew he could not from the location of the Fort and their command of the sea. But I also knew that its reinforcement in the face of the thousand troops we had on our side would be a triumph to the enemy, and in connection with a few friends I sent a dispatch to Slidell Hunter

¹ The telegram, dated January 18, 1861, is printed in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, I. 445.

² Apparently three of the four ships referred to were the *St. Louis*, *Sabine*, and *Macedonian*. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, IV. 9, 62.

³ Samuel Barron, afterward Commodore C. S. N.

⁴ Barron's orders, January 21, 1861, are in *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 66.

⁵ Senator Mallory took his formal departure from the Senate on January 21.

⁶ January 21. *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 66.

and Bigler,¹ (supposing my colleague had long before left Washington,) calculated to alarm the President and induce him to countermand the order. I stated that we would resist it in every way we could to the last and it was a useless menace, bravado and insult and might provoke instant war—and was inconsistent with the President's declaration to me and others in favor of *Peace*. This had its effects. The President ordered the soldiers to remain on board the Brooklyn, upon Chase's assurance that he would not assault the Fort which as Chase had determined not to attack it, and to resign his command rather than do it, he readily gave. Chase being of the opinion that we had but two means of taking it both involving a large force and guns of calibre we had not. The point was thus gained the troops kept out and they are still at sea. In this matter Chase is of course entitled to the credit for I could not go beyond preparing the way, being only a full private.

When my colleague passed through Charleston, he sent me a telegram asking me whether 50 000 lbs of powder could be loaned to S. Carolina, to be returned on demand.

I presume he telegraphed me rather than Gov. Perry because he was aware that I had privately ascertained the amount and value of ordnance stores at the Yard. I showed his dispatch to Chase representing the Governor and asked him what I should reply, he told me to say that it could be spared and he would aid in sending it on if the Governor (Perry) would authorize him. My Colleague had requested me to reply to Gov. Pickens and I did so at once, that Chase said the powder could be spared, and that if he would get an order for it from Gov. Perry and send it to Pensacola, I if received there would aid in forwarding it. I heard nothing more on that subject until I recently learned from Gov. Pickens that he had the powder by Gov. Perry's order.

When in Washington we saw that Southern Naval men began to resign and we all saw that by this course we could get no ships and we the Southern Senators deemed it best to advise those who sought advice to try and get a command before resigning. But one man applied to me a personal friend just from a long cruise and *not* entitled to command.² I at once got him a command afloat at Key West, he notified me that he could not leave his family at Pensacola to go to Key West. I replied, "I have had your head quarters changed to Pensacola hold on yet." I then arranged to have his vessel ordered to report to him at Pensacola, but the same day he resigned by Telegraph. I did not and ought not tell him my plan or motive but if he had taken my advice, we would at least have had one vessel, Whereas of all the Navy we have none except an unrepai red vessel at Pensacola.

¹ Senators from Louisiana, Virginia, and Pennsylvania respectively. The telegram is printed in *Official Records, Armies*, I. 354; their reply in *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 213. The consequent orders of Secretaries Holt and Toucey are printed *ibid.*, 74, and *Armies*, I. 355, and Curtis's *Buchanan*, II. 464.

² Note in original, in Mallory's hand: "The late Commander Wm. L. Brent—native of Md."

When our State seceded Moreno (Marshal) my brother in law;¹ and Baldwin at Key West sent me in their resignations to do with as I pleased.

At the same time the members of the Legislature and Convention telegraphed to me, not to submit them as they wanted these gentlemen, as good and true State Rights men as ever breathed to hold on until the State could assert her authority at Key West, and thus assist the State to assert her authority, and thus they did hold on to 4th. of March, not for their own benefit, but for the Public good.

And now my dear Sir why you may ask have I troubled you with these details and I reply that I have within a few days, learned that Genl. Morton and Mr. Blount the two leading lights of the K. N. Party of St. Rosa Co. have sought to create the impression in Tallahassee upon the minds of honorable men that I was not sufficiently sound upon Southern Rights ~~and~~ and that they have given as specifications the very acts and doings of mine which I have thus recited and of which I am justly proud, and all and every of which I rejoice to have been able to do. Of course they must have presented them by the lights of their own dark lanterns or men like you and others would have seen them in their real and true light. I kept clear of Montgomery wanting to be let alone in my career of *full private* and determined to fill no other part under our Government and I was unwilling by coming here to give any ground for presuming that I wanted Station or position. Mr. Davis and I have long been personal friends. By telegraph he invited me to a seat in his Cabinet. I resolved at once not to take it and came to say that though I could not accept of any Public position, I would cheerfully give his Secretary of the Navy all the aid in my power, from time to time in the organization [*sic*] or conduct of his department. Upon reaching here I learned from him that not only had he sent in my nomination but that it was opposed by two of Florida's delegation.² Of course I could not carry out my purpose and withdraw in the face of unknown opposition. Next day I learned that these gentlemen (Anderson was not here) opposed me upon the precise ground I have related, disclaiming all personal grounds. This opposition of Mortons needed but to be seen to be despised, as to Mr. Owens, I had never before met him but once, when he favorably impressed me. And I know he only saw the matter as Morton presented it, but Morton from mental and physical structure

¹ Senator Mallory had married the daughter of Señor Moreno of Pensacola. Fernando J. Moreno was marshal for the southern district of Florida. John P. Baldwin was collector of customs at Key West.

² In the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, Florida was represented by J. Patten Anderson, Jackson Morton, and James B. Owens. When President Davis nominated Mallory to be Secretary of the Navy, February 25, the nomination was, on motion of Morton, referred to the committee on naval affairs. In the final vote on confirmation, March 4 (36 yeas, 7 nays), Florida voted thus: yea, Anderson; nay, Morton and Owens. *Journal*, I. 85, 95, 105, 106.

and from political rancor long indulged toward me, remembering perhaps the result of his Know Nothing career, his shiboleth of Americans must rule America etc. and my course in the opposition and with that sort of chuckleheadedness which distinguishes all he says, could not do justice to a political adversary. When Anderson reached here, he spoke to me like a man and in five minutes comprehended Morton's conduct and mine. Mr. Owens has since personally sought from me an explanation of the whole matter and now sees it, I believe, in the light of truth. But I will not tire you further. At Washington the Senators of the Border States acted together, with those of Virginia in gaining time for preparation, time to quit the old concern, to launch our Ship of State, to cut away the boats throw the Jonas overboard. Nail our flag to the mast and establish our Government without bloodshed unless compelled to shed it by honor or Safety, was their determination. In full view of the field before them, They sent Chase the dispatch in question. I have the original signed by them all, including Davis and Wigfall. But this Dispatch gave special displeasure to Messrs Blount and Morton, men who ran as Submissionists against our Secession Candidates and were elected with the full Submission ticket from the two extreme western countries [*sic*]. I write this because first every act, vote and speech of mine in Congress is before the World and I challenge their examination, and Secondly I want you and every other man to know that in each and every act deed and word of mine upon this Secession question and the Policy towards the Forts or otherwise of the South I am proud of. And I feel I would have been recreant to my duty had I not pursued the path I did. *My making a truce*, as it is called is the sheerest claptrap ever uttered by lying demagogue. *How could I make a truce?* I had neither authority or command, or public position, but was a full private. What I did was to give the Administration a fright and induce them to propose terms to Chase to keep troops out. And Chase assumed them and nobly and publicly avers now all the responsibility.

In conclusion you will concur with me that the publication of these matters could do good only to our Northern enemies. But for this consideration they would have been spread about in our newspapers. Every man who ventures to climb moral[ly], physical[ly] or intellectually makes himself a tempting mark for the shafts of envy, hatred or malice to practice on. I have realized this perhaps neither more or less than thousands and have been as little deterred by it. Attacks thus originating and guided by falsehood, like the dirt on the wheels of the Locomotive, are penalties paid by progress and they should as little regard it. But yet I am solicitous to be understood rightly by all men of honor, truth and virtue and hence I write thus frankly to you, a trespass upon your time and attention which I sincerely hope you will excuse.

Very truly and respectfully yours
S. R. MALLORY.

5. *Letter of Grant to his Father, on the Capture of Vicksburg, 1863*

THE original of this letter is owned by Hon. Curtis Guild, sr., of Boston. It is brought to our attention by Professor Lawrence B. Evans, of Tufts College. Though it may be said to contain no new historical fact, the simplicity and directness with which it treats of great achievements must be thought characteristic and engaging.

VICKSBURG, July 6th 1863

Dear Father,

Vicksburg has at last surrendered after a siege of over forty days. The surrender took place on the morning of the 4th of July. I found I had continuously underestimated the force of the enemy both in men and Artillery. The number of prisoners surrendered was thirty thousand and two hundred. The process of parolling is so tedious however that many who are desirous of getting to their homes will escape before the paroling officers get around to them. The Arms taken is about 180 pieces of Artillery and over 30000 stand of small arms. The enemy still had about four days rations of flour and meat and a large quantity of sugar.

The weather now is excessively warm and the roads intolerably dusty. It can not be expected under these circumstances that the health of this command can keep up as it has done. My troops were not allowed one hours idle time after the surrender but were at once started after other game.

My health has continued very good during the campaign which has just closed. Remember me to all at home.

ULYSSES

[*Indorsement:*] This is an autograph letter from my son Ulysses S. Grant Lt Gen U. S. A.

JESSE R GRANT

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty. A Statistical Study in History and Psychology. By FREDERICK ADAMS WOODS, M.D.
(New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. viii, 312.)

THE author prefaces his treatise by saying that there has been much discussion concerning the relative importance of heredity, environment and free will in determining the intellectual and moral qualities of the individual; but that this discussion has led to no definite conclusions because no one of these possible sources of power has been studied with sufficient fullness of detail. A more searching and complete investigation is desirable because if it can be shown that heredity is a more potent force in the moulding of human character and achievement than the accidents of surroundings, we shall be better qualified to determine what ought to be done and what can be done in the solution of some perplexing race and social problems.

Concerning the great mass of mankind, however, no such investigation is possible. It is one of the commonplaces of some schools of philosophical historians that stirring times, favorable opportunities, acute crises produce great geniuses. But they also produce many millions of mediocrities. And some critical periods pass without raising up Mohammeds and Luthers. Until the pedigrees of great groups of men have been tracked several generations and the mental and moral values of each unit in these pedigrees be approximately stated, until from data so obtained it be discovered that no formulas for heredity can be derived, and until, in case such formulas can be derived, it is proven that the appearance of geniuses, imbeciles and degenerates is not in accordance with the expectations raised by those formulas, then and not until then, will it be possible to assert in any given case that heredity is not a controlling influence.

The royal families of Europe constitute the only field where the material for the study of these questions can be had in sufficient quantity. Even here, however, one is led now and then into a blind alley, for in the construction of genealogical charts of many royal persons of modern times, one comes upon names in the family tree which have to be marked "obscure", names about whose bearers nothing definite can be ascertained. Wherever possible, however, these persons are graded twice, in this work, in the scale of 10, once for character and again for intellect. These grades are arrived at by averaging the judgments given in the great biographical dictionaries and certain standard historical treatises.

At first blush this method of formulating judgments seems unlikely to secure results of sufficient definiteness and accuracy; especially when, casting the eye down the lists, one observes grouped in grade 5 for intellect, Louis XVI. of France, Emperor Leopold II., a clever, cautious politician, Emperor Rudolf II., a dull bigot, Frederick William IV. of Prussia, who whatever his limitations as a man of action, was remarkably gifted in many ways, and the late Emperor Frederick of Germany. Again, any rating for morals which puts Frederick William I., Frederick the Great, and the Great Elector of Prussia in grades 3, 4, and 5 respectively and accords to Emperor Francis II. of Austria the distinction of 7, seems open to grave question.

However, the arrangement of the broad classes of geniuses, imbeciles, lunatics, degenerates and mediocrities is a simpler and easier matter than these more sharply drawn classifications, and in the main suffices for the author's enquiry.

Applying this broad classification to the pedigrees of the royal personages under review, the author concludes that the results obtained correspond in the main with Galton's law based on certain physical attributes in animals, that heredity accounts more satisfactorily for the appearance of genius or the reverse than environment or opportunity, that the inbreeding of families may be beneficial when the stocks can be graded high and are free from taint, that great power of mind and high character are more often found associated than separate, that the able and the noble are more apt to have numerous offspring than the intellectually feeble and the morally degraded, pointing thus to the survival of the fittest and the elevation of the race. Even if his conclusions be accepted in full, however, environment remains a force to be reckoned with. Doubtless some genius now and then breaks the leashes of circumstance as fast as they are laid upon him, with no apparent loss in the development of his speed. Others get into the running only occasionally. And it is scarcely open to question that others never shake themselves loose from these bonds at all.

The author has done his work with skill and good judgment and his book will be especially profitable for reproof and instruction to political doctrinaires of every school.

Études Sociales et Juridiques sur l'Antiquité Grecque. Par GUSTAVE GLOTZ. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1906. Pp. 303.)

THE protection of life, property, and race purity belonged at first to the clan (*genos*). The parricide, the adulteress, and the erring maid were left to the anger of the clan gods—the only gods there were. They became by excommunication outcasts, unless they proved their innocence by an appeal to the ordeal, or judgment of god. The killing of a foreigner, on the other hand, started a feud, or war between the clans, which could be ended only by the blood-covenant. Then, in the Greek Middle

Ages, a change came about, and the clan law was extended with the clan gods to the whole community. Thus the pollution, which earlier involved only the clan of the fratricide, if it failed to cast him out now affected the whole city, and this religious idea armed the state with the authority needful for the punishment of the murderer. So M. Glotz (pp. 1-67; 277-300). The reader is impelled to ask: Is it true that two views of early Greek development—the Sophists' opposites—are equally tenable, the one making men gregarious (*ζῶν πολιτικῶν*) at the start, the other presenting them to us in family groups, solitary like beasts of prey: the one making the brotherhood (*phratry*) the chief minor group of the political herd, the other regarding the clan (*genos*) as originally a state in itself: the one letting the brotherhood disintegrate and the clans rise in its midst through the accumulation of property in the hands of a few, the other seeing in the later nobles *all* the earlier citizens, the serfs being immigrants or conquered peoples? If it is true that these two opinions can be maintained by equally conclusive arguments, then historians will do well to withdraw from this field altogether. If it is not true, the reader must insist that a Socrates—say in the person of Eduard Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altertums*, II. 79 ff.; 291 ff.; *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, II. 517 ff.)—is required to interrupt M. Glotz's facile exposition, and ask him some questions. How came it that the clan had nothing whatever to do with the enforcement of the criminal law of Draco? The clans coalesced in the Greek Middle Ages (after Homer): in a few generations this amazing revolution (p. 287) took place. What were men doing in the thousands of generations prior to 800 B.C.? What great force came into Greek life in the Middle Ages that was not previously operative? Homer, it must be remarked, knows no isolated clans. Was not Alcinoos' people divided into thirteen tribes and fifty-two brotherhoods (pp. 239 ff.)? Were the clans isolated when the mountaineers, marshalled in the three Doric tribes (p. 223), conquered the Peloponnese? Did they lack community of action in the Mycenaean Age, when the great road was built from Mycenae to Corinth, and Cnossus ruled the seas? Perhaps their day belongs before 1500 B. C. If so, M. Glotz should have operated with Schrader's *Lexicon*, and not so much with those will-o'-the-wisps, Greek myths. To the reviewer M. Glotz seems to have exaggerated the autonomy of the clan in the seventh century B. C., and to have projected it backwards to the age of origins. He certainly contradicts himself in his description of the decline of *la solidarité familiale* in Athens. On page 50 he affirms that in classic times the initiative in a murder case must come from the relatives of the slain man, while in his fine apology for the study of Greek public law (p. 292), he properly credits Solon with the removal of this restriction. What a difference that makes! Is it right none the less to insist upon the importance (p. 289) of the family in Greek criminal law?

The other essays in the volume deal with the Ordeal (novel and suggestive), the Oath, the Exposure of Children (a sympathetic treatment

in the manner of Duris of Samos), Navy and City from Epos to History, a very pretty edifice which, however, rests on sand so long as the general and exclusive prevalence of the three Doric and the four Ionic tribes is not proved (*cf.* Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad.*, 1906, p. 71), the Olympic Games (a graphic and fascinating description). The disquisition on the Oath seems to the reviewer a solid contribution to Greek public law.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Questions d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Chrétienne. Par JEAN GUIRAUD. (Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1906. Pp. 304.)

UNDER this rather pretentious title M. Guiraud publishes eight essays of very unequal length and merit, and with no discoverable principle of unity except, perhaps, a permeating gratulatory sense of the infallibility of the Roman Church. The questions *d'archéologie* reduce themselves actually to a panegyric on the great "founder of Christian archaeology," de Rossi, and an essay on "L'Esprit de la Liturgie Catholique." The former is an appreciative but entirely obvious review of some of de Rossi's chief discoveries in Roman archaeology: there is not a sign of a critical discussion of a *question d'archéologie*. The latter is simply a review of Dom Fernand Cabral's *Le Livre de la Prière Antique* (Paris, 1900).

It fares somewhat better with the *questions d'histoire*, which include essays on the morals and the liturgy of the Cathari, on the repression of heresy in the Middle Ages, on St. Peter's visit to Rome, on Roman relics in the ninth century, and on St. Dominic's independence of St. Francis in the cult of poverty. Here again it is difficult to discover any *question* in most of the essays. The one on St. Peter at Rome, for example, simply restates the testimony of the fathers from Clement of Rome down to Hippolytus, concluding with the rather humorous confession that the pages are a work of supererogation, since the fact of Peter's Roman residence "n'est plus contesté que par quelques retardataires du protestantisme et du vieux-catholicisme." The phrase is suggestive of the tenor of the whole book: it could enlighten only "retardataires". The essay on "Les Reliques Romaines au IX^e Siècle", which by its title might lead one to expect some discussion of *questions d'archéologie*, is simply the amusing story of deacon Deusdona, the Roman agent for supplying ultramontane monasteries with saints' bones, translated from the *Monumenta Germaniae* (Script., XV., p. 240 *et seqq.*). The author devotes but twelve pages to the interesting question (raised by Sabatier) of the dependence of St. Dominic on St. Francis in his ideas of poverty. He dismisses the enumeration of the goods of the Dominicans in the bull *Religiosam Vitam* (March, 1218) as simply some tithes given by the Church to "the poor" of the monastery of Prouille. But in these few pages the author gives us only an abstract of the arguments already furnished to historical scholars in the lamented Balme's *Cartulaire de St. Dominique*.

The discussions of the morals and the liturgy of the Cathari are interesting, especially the careful comparison of the ceremony of the Consolamentum with the sacraments of penance and baptism in the Christian Church. In this essay the author comes nearest to constructive critical work on a *question d'histoire chrétienne*.

Unfortunately the first essay in the book, "La Répression de l'Hérésie au Moyen Age", is not free from slight misrepresentation of the thirteenth-century heresies, for the larger vindication of the confessed "draconienne" severity of the Inquisition. While rightly calling our attention to the fact that the Church was called upon to exercise that protection of society which to-day falls to the care of the state, the author attempts to strengthen his plea for the necessity of Rome's cruelty by confounding all the heresies under the worst type ("la plupart [des hérésies] se sont inspirées plus ou moins directement du manichéisme," p. 15). Surely it is an unpardonable exaggeration to say that the Waldenses spread "des doctrines aussi dangereuses pour l'organisme sociale" (p. 24), in the face of what we know of the Waldensian principles and of the distinct testimony of their adversary Capocci that they were "longe minus per-versi comparatione aliorum haereticorum".

But it is only in rare instances that M. Guiraud's book offers any opportunity for "reviewing" in the sense of the examination of theses and conclusions. It is rather edifying than critical in purpose—and its title is ludicrously misleading.

D. S. MUZZEY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Political History of England. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. In twelve volumes. Volume I. *The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest.* By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., Litt.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxii, 528.)

THE first volume of *The Political History of England*, now in the process of publication, deals with early Britain, the Britain of the Celt, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Dane. It is peculiarly fitting that the learned historian who has written so entertainingly of *Italy and Her Invaders* should be chosen to write the story of the many invasions of Old England. Furthermore, Dr. Hodgkin's extensive knowledge of the earlier Middle Ages and his sympathetic attitude toward the Germanic race as a whole enable him to look at English history from a point of view somewhat different from that of Lappenberg or Freeman. We have, therefore, in this volume a shifting of emphasis and a slight change of historical content. Particularly does the author emphasize the fact that Saxon England, instead of passing through a peculiar development almost undisturbed, was profoundly affected by movements originating elsewhere in Europe.

In the first pages the author goes back to the earliest appearance of man in Britain and describes conditions as they were before the coming of Caesar; but as neither the Stone-worker nor his successor the Celt left any records of much value to "political history" this discussion is necessarily brief. On the other hand, the story of the Roman conquest and occupation is told with a great variety of details in seventy pages out of a total of less than five hundred. Next follows an interesting discussion of the sources dealing with the Anglo-Saxon invasion, with the usual meagre results. An effort is made to tell the whole tedious story of the interminable quarrels that make up the first four centuries of Old English history, but when the author reaches the eighth century he wisely refrains from continuing the detailed account. In these chapters the emphasis is placed on the activities of the Church, not so much as a civilizing force, but as a power that made for national unity. When we come to the accession of Egbert we are surprised to find that the work is already more than half finished. The remainder of the book gives a large place to that other and greater unifying force, the Norse migration.

Of the many problems that the student meets in this period, Dr. Hodgkin attempts to solve but a very few. He believes that Caesar landed at Deal rather than at some port west of Dover (p. 24). Without attempting to fix the date when the Anglo-Saxon conquest began, he is inclined to believe that the first effort to conquer and settle was made in 441; the earlier expeditions were mere piratical raids (p. 106). He discredits the story that the Germans were called in to help fight the northern tribes, and attributes the migration to the fear of Attila (p. 109). The British patriot Arthur was in all probability merely a Romano-British general, as native kingdoms could hardly have sprung up so soon after the Roman occupation (p. 107). Dr. Hodgkin does not agree with Professor Freeman that the native population was to any great extent exterminated; on the contrary he is prepared to "accept and glory in the term Anglo-Celt rather than Anglo-Saxon, as the fitting designation of our race" (p. 111).

Recent English writers, notably Sir James Ramsay, have begun to see that the overlordship of Egbert was a relatively unimportant matter, as we have no evidence that it was exercised or even claimed by his immediate successors. This view is accepted and stated quite forcibly in the present work. The author holds, it seems, the apparently correct view that the founder of England was Alfred the Great. The old statement that the treaty of Wedmore made Watling Street a boundary line is again refuted. Dr. Hodgkin also appears to see that in Alfred and Guthrum's *frith* the boundary (as Dr. Steenstrup pointed out some years ago) is drawn to, not along Watling Street (p. 287). He believes, however, that this Street "practically" became the boundary of the Danelaw. A fairly successful attempt is made to show how extensively English territory was actually occupied by Danish settlers, the author's con-

clusions being based largely on the evidence of survivals in the form of place-names (pp. 315-316).

From Dr. Hodgkin's excellent account of Alfred's life and achievements we pass at once to the most unsatisfactory part of the work: England in the tenth century. Though the author makes an effort to trace the expansion of Wessex somewhat carefully, the reader will hardly obtain a clear idea of the territorial gains and losses of each particular period or reign. In the controversy over the claims of the Saxon kings to the overlordship of Scotland, Dr. Hodgkin favors the English contention, though he cheerfully admits that the Scottish submission was of no practical importance (pp. 324-326, 356-357). An interesting suggestion is made with respect to the battle-field of Brunanburh: the author locates it in southern Scotland, at Brunswark in Dumfriesshire (pp. 334-335). The collapse that came in the reign of Ethelred he attributes only in part to the incompetency of that king. "Had Edgar left the country a really strong, well-organized state, it could hardly have gone down so speedily before the assaults of the sea-rovers" (p. 398).

On the institutional side Dr. Hodgkin's work shows very little independent research. In matters of government and land-tenure he follows the "tradition of the elders" as modified by the studies of more recent writers such as Maitland and Vinogradoff. On a few subjects, particularly the origin of the sheriff's office and the formation of the Mercian shires, he inclines toward the views recently put forth by Mr. Chadwick. The suggestion that the hundred may have originated in the "need of grappling with agrarian crime" (cattle-theft) seems original and is at least interesting (p. 427). To identify the staller with the chamberlain (p. 450) is an evident error; on the whole, the author does not seem to realize how extensively Saxon institutions were modified by the Danish conquest.

The narrative is written in Dr. Hodgkin's usual charming and easy, though somewhat diffuse style; his work will delight the general reader, but to the student it will prove a disappointment. On some subjects it is remarkably clear and suggestive; but, in general, too little space is devoted to difficult problems and too much to materials that have little value in serious study. All the old anecdotes that we have read so often are again related and a few more are added from foreign sources, excellent tales, but tales nevertheless. In his attitude toward the sources the author shows that he still retains his sublime faith in the written word; he even displays a kindly feeling toward the Old Norse sagas, though of these he seems to have used only the translation of Snorre's history. In his estimate of men he is charitable and generous, too generous it would seem, particularly in his treatment of such ambitious characters as St. Dunstan and Godwin and Cnut.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Irish History and the Irish Question. By GOLDWIN SMITH. (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co.; Toronto: Morang and Co. 1905. Pp. viii, 270.)

IN two hundred pages of large print Mr. Smith has here given a brilliant narrative of Irish history from the earliest times down to Gladstone's day. To this he has added a chapter on Ireland's political relation to England, and a chapter by another hand on the Irish Land Code. For his narrative Mr. Smith has selected what is most significant and of permanent influence; his selection is usually good. His condensation is masterful. To the French invasion under Hoche, for instance, Lecky gives forty pages; Mr. Smith gives twenty lines; Lecky argues the Fitzwilliam episode in sixty pages; Mr. Smith states it in less than two. Transitions are so skilfully made that the reader makes the leap of a century unawares; there are no dates as sign-posts of his rapid progress. Controversial points are affirmed with a decisiveness which leaves no chance for the hesitation of doubt or the delay of *pro* and *con*. Great men, great deeds, great horrors crowd upon each other with dramatic distinctness. And still the thread of the narrative stands out clearly and binds the whole together. The style has all the vigor and freshness of youth, though the author is past four-score. The sentences are short, crisp, and suggestive. It is interesting and stimulating, but not always impartial or impersonal. The author does not hesitate to judge past history according to his own view of present politics.

"Of all histories the history of Ireland is the saddest." These words open the first chapter, and form the refrain of the whole book. The blame for the "seven centuries of woe" Mr. Smith appears to lay about equally on (a) Nature, (b) Irish character, (c) the Roman Catholic Church, and (d) English greed. (a) Nature made "the theatre of this tragedy" an island densely clothed with woods, which, with the broad and bridgeless rivers, tended to perpetuate the division into clans and prevent the growth of a nation; it also made the English conquest partial only, long, and agonizing. England, with her coal and minerals, and Ireland, with her pasture land, were meant to be commercial supplements of each other, but "Nature made a fatal mistake in peopling them with different and uncongenial races" (p. 294). (b) The Celt has everywhere shown himself "impulsive, prone to laughter and to tears, wanting, compared with the Teuton, in depth of character, in steadiness and in perseverance. He is inclined rather to personal rule or leadership than to a constitutional polity" (p. 3). The circumstances of Irish history have all tended to foster and prolong this notion of personal rule, and make it a means of agitation against government and law. "To set up a stable democracy in Ireland would surely be an arduous undertaking" (p. 222). (c) The existence of the Roman Catholic Church has not merely added religious hatred to race hatred and stirred the Irish to make common cause with England's enemies, but at the present

as in the past is wholly medieval in its influence. "An Irish peasant lad, having been intellectually secluded for seven years at Maynooth, comes out proof against the intellectual influences and advancing science of his time" (p. 219). (d) Under the Restoration Irish interests began to be systematically sacrificed to English commercial greed. "Protectionism was the creed of that dark age" (p. 82). Cut off from manufactures and from trade by English laws made in English interests, the wretched people of Ireland were thrown back for subsistence wholly upon the land, for which they competed with the eagerness of despair, undertaking to pay for their little lots impossible rents. The chapters which follow on Ireland in the eighteenth century,—the Penal Code, the cottier's unutterable misery, the Whiteboy outrages, and the corruption, selfishness, and subservency of the Irish Parliament before and after 1782,—are the best part of the book. An occasional ray of cheer lights up the general gloom. "Dublin was gay, mansions rose, claret flowed, wit sparkled, the dance went round" (p. 125).

Mr. Smith makes no pretense at original research. His authorities are Bagwell, Froude, and Lecky and half a dozen others whom he mentions in the preface, but whose conclusions he does not always follow. In a book of such brief compass and effective contrasts there are some exaggerations of statement. Grattan's Parliament is condemned too unqualifiedly, and Burke, Wolfe Tone, and O'Connell judged too severely. Overpopulation, due partly to the Church's "inculcation of early marriages, the effects of which may be morally good but are economically perilous" (p. 219), is reiterated (pp. 192, 211) as the chief of Ireland's economic ills. It is not, however, general overpopulation, but the congestion of population in certain districts which is the great evil. No mention is made of the recent attempts to relieve this congestion. In fact Mr. Smith's whole account of the last forty years is very disappointing. It was some forty years ago that he visited Ireland and wrote a book on *Irish History and Irish Character*; it would seem that he has no special interest in, and has made no special study of, Ireland since that day. Gladstone's Home Rule bills, with which he has no sympathy, he dismisses in a few ironical sentences. He tells practically nothing of the great agrarian questions, of England's new solicitude for Ireland, of the substance and working of the great Irish Land acts; nothing of Sir Horace Plunkett's activity and optimism for Ireland in the New Century, nor of his efforts to turn the sentimental Irishman from political agitation back to practical agriculture. Yet these are the very questions of which the student of Irish history and Irish questions will be most anxious to know, and upon which he ought to be informed. Conscious perhaps of this deficiency, Mr. Smith has appended "An Account of the Irish Land Code, by Hugh J. McCann, B.L.," but this is altogether unsatisfactory. It consists for the most part of ill-digested verbatim extracts from the various Land Purchase Acts and the Dunraven Conference; it is legal but not lucid; it lacks the economic point of view

and gives no real insight into the essence and working of these great acts. The reader, leaving the clear path of Mr. Smith's delightful narrative, loses himself in a maze of "present tenancies" and "future tenancies", "statutory terms" and "hanging gales".

As a sketch of Irish history this book is, on the whole, excellent. It will find a natural and worthy place on the shelf by the side of the author's *United States* and *United Kingdom*; its general characteristics are much the same as those of the two earlier books, but it ought to be more serviceable because there is less that is good in brief compass on Ireland than on England or the United States.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Records of the City of Norwich. Compiled and edited by the Rev. WILLIAM HUDSON, M.A., and JOHN COTTINGHAM TINGEY, M.A. Volume I., containing Documents relating to the Government and Administration of the City, compiled and edited by the Rev. WILLIAM HUDSON. (Norwich and London: Jarrold and Sons. 1906. Pp. cxlvi, 456.)

THE activity displayed during the past decade by the municipal corporations of England in the publication of their ancient records is gratifying to students of history. The good example set by London and Nottingham has been followed in recent years by Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Carlisle, Colchester, Doncaster, Dublin, Gloucester, Leicester, Northampton, and Reading. The latest addition to this list of valuable record publications is a collection of documents relating to Norwich, which for scholarly editing will rank with those of Nottingham and Leicester, and which probably excels these in the value of its contents. The first volume, dealing with municipal history, is edited by Mr. Hudson, and this will be followed by a second volume dealing with economic history, the compilation of which has been entrusted to Mr. Tingey.

It would require several pages to give a satisfactory summary of the mass of rich materials collected by Mr. Hudson, extending from the time of William the Conqueror to the close of the seventeenth century. They comprise royal charters granted to the city, plea rolls, a custumal, assembly rolls, deeds enrolled in the city courts, leet and muster rolls, and many other documents. The custumal is particularly valuable, perhaps more valuable than any other code of municipal customs hitherto published in England. It was probably compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and most of it seems to have been of a still earlier date. Its fifty-one chapters relate mainly to the civil and criminal procedure of the city court and to the regulation of trade, but some of the by-laws set forth the qualifications of citizenship, the duties of town officers, and other aspects of municipal administration. Some matters are dealt with concerning which we find little information in other custumals, for example, the action of fresh force and the probate

of wills in the municipal court. Chapter XVIII. indicates that wills were proved in the church court when movables were bequeathed, and in the city court when lands were bequeathed. As wills of burgesses often disposed of both kinds of property, it was a common practice in Norwich and other boroughs to secure probate before both tribunals. The editor, on pages 153 and 296, evidently misapprehends the meaning of the term of forty days mentioned in the chapter of the custumal which describes the action of fresh force. This term did not apply to the time within which the plea must be completed, but to the period following the act of intrusion or dispossession within which the action must be begun (see Fleta, bk. II., ch. 55). In this connection attention may also be called to the misleading explanations of the *essoin* "*de malo veniendi*" and the writ "*ex querela*" on pages 151 and 291; the former is the *essoin* which Glanvill calls "*de infirmitate veniendi*", and the latter is an early reference to the writ "*ex gravi querela*" to recover bequests of burgage tenements. Usually however the editor's notes are lucid and free from error.

The introduction contains an excellent account of the history of municipal government in Norwich from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Mr. Hudson fortunately has at his disposal data throwing light on the growth of the governing body of Norwich in the Middle Ages. He shows that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the source of all authority in municipal affairs was a general assembly of the citizens, and that a marked oligarchical tendency is not clearly visible until early in the fifteenth century, when the mass of the commonality allowed the burden of government to rest on the shoulders of their wealthier neighbors, who constituted the board of aldermen. The writers who contend that the government of English boroughs rested on an aristocratic basis throughout the Middle Ages will find it difficult to reconcile the development of Norwich with their theory.

The Corporation of Norwich may well be proud of its ancient muniments and deserves much credit for having spared no expense in making them accessible to historians in a sumptuous and scholarly form befitting their value.

CHARLES GROSS.

Innocent III. La Papauté et l'Empire. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1906. Pp. 306, 4.)

M. LUCHAIRE, who by his excellent works on the early Capetians had made their periods his own in a peculiar sense, has in the last few years pre-empted, though in a somewhat different way, the pontificate of Innocent III. His works on the Capetians, being supplied with the necessary apparatus, and critical notes, and cast in the form of manuals, were written for the student alone. His works on Innocent III., on the other hand, are "popular" in the best sense of that much-abused word. In

this, his latest volume, he makes no reference either to sources or to other works which treat the same subject. Not more than two or three times does he indicate that he differs from others in his interpretation of the documents or in his construction of events. And even in such cases he merely states the fact without attempting either to justify his own position or to show the error of those from whom he differs—a bold procedure, and refreshing in a time which demands that even high-school text-books should contain many pages of “sources” and “literature” in all languages.

Neither does M. Luchaire indulge in a dramatic narrative of events. It is surprising how few historical details are found in his book. And yet his book is a masterpiece of historical writing. By means of a few really important documents he takes his reader to the “high places”, from which he commands a view of the struggle in its different phases. M. Luchaire possesses profound scholarship and the literary sense which characterizes the French. The historian and the artist combined in him have produced a work which is both history and literature—a combination as rare as it is charming. Of all the historical books of the year, it will easily take the first place as delightful reading.

His first chapter the author begins with the statement that the Middle Age was dominated by the belief that over all nations and peoples there must be a chief power, a central universal authority, which was a visible expression of the unity of the whole Christian world. Imperialism was a part of the divine order; the only question was, to whom this high office had been intrusted. To this question two answers had been given. For some time it was agreed that the emperor possessed this supreme power, but in the eleventh century the pope set up a counter claim to it. The dispute over it led to the tremendous struggle between the pope and the emperor. During this struggle both popes and emperors often yielded to the force of circumstances, and made concessions each to the other, so that a third answer seemed to be given to the question stated above: namely, that the government of the Christian world had been confided conjointly to pope and emperor, who must work together in harmony. Unfortunately, experience quickly showed that harmony between two universal sovereignties was impossible.

It was the great good fortune of Innocent that during the first ten years of his reign there were rival candidates for the German crown, neither of whom was able to get possession of all Germany, and both of whom were willing to make large concessions to the pope in order to gain his support. Innocent remained neutral for three years in order to have the opportunity to destroy the imperial government which Henry VI. had built up in Italy and Sicily, and to re-establish the papal government in its place. Nothing could have been more opportune for him than this disputed royal election. M. Luchaire recognizes in the document which has hitherto been regarded as the coronation oath of Otto IV. merely the letter in which Otto informed the pope of his election.

The fact that in this letter Otto conceded hardly more than did Philip of Suabia also helps to account for the long delay of Innocent in declaring in favor of Otto. For three years Innocent refused to say which of the two candidates he would support, although he admitted that his mind was made up. He also said that he was sure that that candidate would be successful who should receive the papal favor. The responsibility for the misfortunes of Germany during the long struggle between rival kings must to a certain extent, therefore, be laid to the pope.

In the second chapter the author recounts the vigorous but ineffectual efforts of Innocent to secure the unanimous recognition of Otto. He resents with some fervor the charge that Innocent was not eager to make Otto's success too great. He forgets, apparently, that Innocent after three years of pronounced neutrality could afterward write that his affection for Otto had never grown lukewarm, but had continually sustained him quite up to the time when Innocent had declared in his favor (p. 81). In the third chapter the author develops the chain of events which caused the pope to recede from his position, to desert Otto, and to make terms with Philip. Here too it is impossible not to feel that the pope in his diplomacy overstepped the bounds of truthfulness in his letter to Otto (p. 161). For this letter was written long after he had made up his mind to the inevitable. The fourth chapter traces the change in Otto's policy, his violation of his oaths, his seizure of all the lands in central and southern Italy to which the empire had ever laid claim, and the consequent estrangement between him and Innocent. It contains a good sketch of the conditions prevailing in Italy at the beginning of the thirteenth century (pp. 110 ff.). It ends with the public excommunication and deposition of Otto. The last chapter sets forth the complete triumph of Innocent: Frederick II., a mere tool in his hands, making every concession that he could ask, was established king of Germany. The supremacy of the pope was realized. But for this victory the pope was not indebted to Frederick, whose military successes in Germany were insignificant. It was the work of the French king, Philip Augustus, who by his victory over the combined Gueff forces at Bouvines established Frederick on the throne of Germany, and ended in a great triumph for Innocent the struggle which he had carried on for sixteen years. *Gesta Dei per Francos!*

A few errors should be noted. On page 281 *guelfe* should be *ghibelin*; Brabant is in the northwestern part of the empire, not in the northeastern (p. 178); Gervase of Tilbury (page 12) was a layman, not a cleric. It seems strange that M. Luchaire should accept the speech which Guillaume le Breton puts into the mouth of Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, while properly rejecting that which he attributes to Otto IV., especially since both are found in his *Philippis*, a metrical eulogy of Philip Augustus.

O. J. THATCHER.

Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland. Von DR. MORITZ JULIUS BONN. (Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1906. Zwei Bände. Pp. viii, 396; 320.)

From time to time a book comes out of Germany or France or America which so closely concerns England and English interests and yet so far surpasses anything which Englishmen have done in the same line, that it impresses one with a certain sense of unfitness of things and one almost hesitates to attribute to it its full value. This book is of such a character; a work of scholarly thoroughness and impartiality, of inclusiveness of subject and minuteness of detail, and yet of originality and breadth. The author, who has already published a history of the decline of Spain during the revolution in prices in the sixteenth century, has not only studied his materials on the ground in Ireland, as he tells us, during repeated and prolonged visits during a number of years, but he has evidently pondered his subject and its problems maturely and now expresses his results clearly and pleasantly. It is perhaps no loss to his treatment of his subject that he has, as he confesses, felt in his own experience the *verführische Reize des irischen Volkes*.

A book on a subject on which so little of serious value has been written as the history of Ireland can probably best be reviewed by simply giving a statement of its contents. The first volume covers the period from the conquest in the twelfth century to the rebellion of 1641, the second volume brings the account down to the great famine of 1845-1847, and its immediate consequences. The three books of the first volume are devoted respectively to the first or Anglo-Norman colonization, its history and decay; the battle between the English administration and the clan organization in the sixteenth century; and the new colonization in the seventeenth.

The first English conquest and settlement of Ireland was more definite and limited in time than we are perhaps in the habit of recognizing. From May 1169 when the first band of *conquistadores* landed on the southeast coast to March 1172 when Henry II. sailed from Wexford after receiving the submission of all the English and many of the Irish chieftains the original conquest had been completed and the foundations of English administration in Ireland laid. The settlement extended over a longer period. For almost a century and a half, till about 1315, Norman, Welsh and English adventurers, with a sprinkling of Flemings and Jews, came over as members or followers of the early bands of invaders, or in the wake of successive viceroys. But with the early years of the fourteenth century this immigration ceased and the history of the English in Ireland was the history of these men and their descendants until immigration was resumed almost three centuries later, at the close of the sixteenth century.

Dr. Bonn gives a careful description of the political and economic organization of these immigrants and of the Celtic community amidst which they settled. In many ways the body of settlers represented Eng-

lish life—its feudal dues, three-field system of agriculture, the common law—along with English dress and speech. In many other ways it was so deeply modified by the presence of the Irish—the clan-system, Brehon law, *military dependents of English and Irish landholders quartered on the free and servile inhabitants*, both English and Irish, that the appearance is not of a transplanted England, but of a merely modified native community. On the whole, for its first century and a half the English colony in Ireland might be considered a successful experiment. It was self-supporting and tended to extension and consolidation. Later things did not go on so well. The campaigns of Edward Bruce in 1315 ravaged the land and broke the prestige of English administration; some English colonists left the island and others changed a farming for a hired soldier's life; the Celtic tide flowed in correspondingly, not only in material ways but in speech, dress, law and customs. The old Celtic chieftains rose in power and many English became indistinguishable from those of purely Celtic blood. By 1500 the first English colony may be considered to have almost disappeared, and Ireland to have slipped practically out of the hands of England and out of the domain of English institutions.

Some of the most persistent problems of Irish history, however, go back to this period. The discord between permanent English settlers and temporary officials and adventurers, the uncertainty of the status of the Irish parliament as compared with the English; the contrast between the law, with its prohibition of intercourse between English and Irish, its refusal to recognize Irish land-titles and customs, and its blind adherence to English conceptions, and the actual facts of life, with the ubiquity of Irish blood, customs and ideals—these things not only have their roots in the earlier period but are already full-grown with the first century of the conquest.

With the strong government of the Tudors came a process of reaction consisting in the gradual destruction of the power of the Irish chieftains, the dissolution of the clans, and the partial rehabilitation of the colony. Lapping over these processes, and vastly more significant than they, beginning about 1550 but attaining its full activity only in the reign of James I., came the second great process of colonization. The incentives to this, its methods, its difficulties, its partial success and its essential failure occupy the third book; as the third colonization, that under the Commonwealth, does the fourth, and the rule of the colonists in Ireland since that time does the fifth and concluding book. Dr. Bonn looks upon the history of the English colonization of Ireland as a profound and melancholy failure. The effort to colonize a country already occupied by a self-supporting race was at best a difficult experiment but it was made impracticable and calamitous to both peoples by certain prevailing errors on the part of the colonizing race. Dr. Bonn's work is in essence a study and analysis of all the steps in this process.

We should be glad if the author had given somewhat more narrative

and less analysis. The salient occurrences in Irish history he rather takes for granted than tells. Closely connected with this fact is his disregard of secondary works. It is certainly a good fault to rely too much on primary sources, but it is a fault, and we should be glad to have seen the few good modern works on Irish history more utilized and also listed in some kind of bibliography. A historian should not only tell his own story but acknowledge those who have preceded and assist those who are to follow him. It is also noticeable that English sources and English control of Irish policy are largely neglected. We have not found a reference to the Acts of the English Privy Council, though that body was much occupied with Irish affairs; and we are told much more fully how a policy worked out in Ireland than why it was adopted. The author is rather prone to make comparisons between conditions in Ireland and those in South Africa or India; it is somewhat curious that he sees no occasion for comparison between the contemporary problems of English colonization and the efforts toward their solution in Ireland and in America. But all these are matters in which the author has a right to use his own judgment, and there is no doubt that this book is one of first-rate importance in the largely neglected field in which it lies.¹

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Magellan's Voyage around the World. By ANTONIO PIGAFETTA. Original text, with translation, notes and bibliography by JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1906. Two volumes, and index-volume. Pp. 273; 313; 88.)

THIS is a separate print, in a limited edition, of the Pigafetta relation as presented in volumes XXXIII. and XXXIV. of the Philippine historical series now being issued from the same Cleveland press. That work also being limited, a separate issue of this first complete version of Pigafetta in English was well justified, while the thorough and painstaking labor of Mr. Robertson as translator and editor have made a place for it in all good historical collections.

The Italian adventurer and cavalier Antonio Pigafetta set out in one of the five ships of Magellan in August, 1519, and was one of the handful of men who survived all the vicissitudes of this the most eventful voyage of history and reached Spain again in the little *Victoria* in September, 1522. His relation of the voyage is by far the best and most authoritative document upon the subject, and was very early recognized as such. Not the same reliance may invariably be placed upon his accounts of native customs in the islands visited, particularly the Philippine Islands; for it seems evident that Pigafetta has mixed with his

¹ We understand that a part of the book has been translated into English and published under the title *Modern Ireland and her Agrarian Problem* (London, Murray, 1906, pp. 172).

own observations and experiences on shore a good deal of hearsay, sometimes gathered from careless witnesses among the soldiers and sailors. However, there is no little material of value in his accounts of the natives seen, and it is all most interesting, even where not to be accepted implicitly.

As stated, this is the first complete version in English of this relation; and it is, moreover, the most complete and accurate presentation of the Pigafetta manuscript and the data appertaining to it that has ever been made in any language. In the introduction and in his excellent bibliography, Mr. Robertson has brought together the most complete array of data on the subject yet available. He has given the history of the four oldest manuscripts of this relation and extracts from them illustrating the variance of the three French manuscripts (from which the early English versions of Pigafetta were drawn); also an account of the early printed versions of this relation in Italian, French and English, dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century; and has justified his adherence to the manuscript in the Ambrosian Library as, though, in all probability, not the original itself, at least the nearest to it and the manuscript from which the other and more or less altered versions were drawn. The Pigafetta relation has suffered, even more than most such documents, from the "editing" of its various versions; even the Amoretti edition of Pigafetta in Italian and French, taken directly from the Ambrosian manuscript as late as 1800, which has commonly passed as authoritative, has an "edited" and altered text, so that Lord Stanley's translation for the Hakluyt Society, besides other defects, was thereby vitiated. In the Italian government publications for the Columbus celebration (*Raccolta di Documenti e Studi*, Rome, 1894) Andrea da Mosto edited the first complete version of the Ambrosian manuscript, but he altered punctuation, spelling, etc. The editor of this version made the transcript himself at Milan, and took pains to preserve the original in literal form, with all peculiarities of abbreviation, punctuation, etc. This text is presented exactly as copied in the work before us, page for page with the translation into English.

In fact, one must repeat the word "painstaking" as the best characterization of the way in which the editor has performed his task; and must add that it was evidently a labor of love and enthusiasm with him. The annotations are most copious, drawing much help from the Mosto edition, and comparing the text passage for passage with the older Paris manuscripts, the Eden version (as published by Arber) and other variant readings. A most elaborately made index accompanies the work.

The volumes are handsomely presented, in silk bindings, on deckle-edged paper, with gilt tops. Pigafetta's charts of the islands visited, more than a score in all, are photographically reproduced from the originals at Milan, and there are other appropriate illustrations.

JAMES A. LeROY.

Jean Calvin: les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps. Par ÉMILE DOUMERGUE, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Tome III., *La ville, la maison et la rue de Calvin.* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 1905. Pp. ix, 722.)

PROFESSOR DOUMERGUE's third volume bears the entirely deserved mention: "Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française (Prix Guizot)". It is devoted to the town of Geneva, the Geneva of the sixteenth century, out of which Calvin's genius made the bulwark of French Reformation, the first of Puritan states and, in the world of thought, the metropolis of a new, far-reaching Commonwealth.

That town of Geneva began to disappear outwardly, some fifty years ago, when its old ramparts, its gray stony towers, were levelled down by a nineteenth-century government, which thought it advisable to make a clean sweep of everything of the past, and the work of destruction has gone very fast during the last decades under the combined influences of time and architects. To revive the same it really needed the pen of an artist and a scholar like Doumergue, lifted over insuperable difficulties by a powerful, never-failing enthusiasm. For achieving such a task he is entitled to the grateful acknowledgment, not only of the Genevese, but of the students of history everywhere.

The present volume, lavishly illustrated like the others, contains, in quotations of documents, in reproductions of old engravings of scenes, interiors, costumes, even in the reconstruction of perspectives and sites, all that can possibly be placed under the eyes of an inquirer. The whole is worked up with a skill, a mastery of details, a richness of style which I have no more to introduce to the readers of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. To quote an instance of the fullness of information which will be found, I only refer to the chapter, in three parts, entitled: "Calvin's income." No less than a complete essay in economics, concerning especially the relation of prices and values in the middle of the sixteenth century, is here before us. It has enabled the writer to refute victoriously the gross exaggerations, the calumnies, which from Bolsec down to J.-B.-G. Galiffe and even Kampschulte, who did not take sufficient care to scrutinize Galiffe's aspersions on that point, have totally obscured the subject. It is now at last a settled matter. Far from drawing from the town a fat prebend, as was said and repeated, the intellectual ruler of Geneva lived and died, if not in poverty, at any rate in the straitened circumstances which were then the city's own.

This book is at the same time a study in archaeology and in biography. After having shown his readers through Calvin's house, which he had to rebuild for the occasion on documentary evidence, the author gives an impressive and exact account of the reformer's daily life, of his stupendous, never-ceasing work, of the bodily sufferings which made the latter part of his life akin to martyrdom. After having paid his debt to Calvin, he undertakes to give us biographic studies of every one

of Calvin's familiars. The chapters on his relatives, on his friends and especially on his secretaries, Nicholas des Gallars, Jean Budé, Charles de Jonvilliers, Raguénier, etc., are precious, being based on information more complete than any note of previous biographers.

Concerning the reformer himself, Professor Doumergue has honored me with a special chapter answering my last criticism in this REVIEW. We disagree on a question of chronology and of measure as to the part to be attributed to heart-impulses in Calvin's conduct. My learned colleague is bent on making that part a leading one in his hero's public life and even his theology. To the numerous quotations he had gathered from the correspondence of his youth he now adds some new ones from letters of the Genevan epoch to and from his friends and insists upon the devoted feelings he inspired in them up to his last days. I never doubted that Calvin remained sympathetic to his friends, even in those troubled times to which I had to refer. I spoke of historians, who are by duty neither friends nor foes, and who have to judge on facts as well as on formulae. But I do not wish to impose to-day on my American readers the continuation of a controversy which nevertheless will have to be pursued later, when the monumental work of Professor Doumergue receives its last crowning volume, which will bear the announced, promising title: "Struggle and Triumph."

For the present I ought to be contented with quoting the following extracts from the excellent chapter: "Calvin at home" (p. 548), which proves beyond dispute how much the author has progressed in his knowledge of Calvinian psychology by studying him, with the help of luminous medical advice, on the spot:

"Nous constatons cette chose simple, naturelle, nécessaire, à savoir "que Calvin a eu le caractère exigé par sa situation exceptionnelle. "Certes, pas plus ici qu'ailleurs, nous ne contestons les défauts de "Calvin, ni ce côté, cette face de son caractère, qui est l'austérité, la "sévérité. Même nous reconnaissons qu'il était nerveux, irritable, très "irritable, et que cette irritabilité naturelle était sans cesse augmentée par "l'énervement de la maladie, et par l'énervement plus agaçant encore "d'une opposition souvent méchante. Nous ne contestons pas davantage "qu'un homme de cette énergie, de cette volonté, de cette clarté de conception, de cette confiance en la vérité, telle qu'il la concevait, n'ait eu "un penchant très naturel à exercer la domination dont il était capable, "qui lui était offerte par les circonstances, et qui était indispensable au "succès de sa mission et de son œuvre. Mais toutes ces restrictions "faites, il n'en reste pas moins que ce qui est incontestable dans le caractère de Calvin, c'est la séduction, l'attrait."

CHARLES BERGEAUD.

The Scottish Parliament: its Constitution and Procedure, 1603-1707; with an Appendix of Documents. By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1905. Pp. x, 228.)

Six years ago Mr. Rait in *The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns* drew needed attention to the neglected condition of Scottish constitutional history. His essay has since been supplemented by the informing chapters on Scotland in Mr. Porritt's *Unreformed House of Commons*. Now comes a valuable monograph from Professor Terry. The book contains nineteen chapters (which should have been numbered for convenient reference) and, as an appendix, fifty-six pages of well-chosen documents—all but one from *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*. Here appears the evidence for a surprisingly large portion of the text.

Seven chapters describe the constituent elements of Parliament, especially the representatives of the shires and burghs. Qualifications, distribution, the narrow electorate, the tardy approach of Parliament toward the character of a national representative assembly, to which it never really attained, the influence of the different classes and of the Crown, are all admirably expounded. Concerning shire representation, however, the addition to what Rait and Porritt have said is not extensive. We learn something about electoral methods, proxies, payment of members, etc.; but occasionally, as concerning the acts extending the franchise of 1661 and 1681, the account is clearly inferior to Mr. Porritt's. These and certain other acts should at least have explanatory notes in the appendix. The nature of wadsetters and the exceptional conditions in Sutherlandshire should have been set forth. Of burgh representation the account is on many points, for example on the relations between trade privileges and representation, a distinct improvement upon anything we have heretofore had. There is, however, no map of parliamentary representation.

Valuable chapters follow on the house (here one misses a diagram), officials, ceremonial, and discipline of Parliament. The last subject is well cleared up. New light—still more is needed—is shed upon the "Speaker". On these matters, as well as on the whole subject of parliamentary procedure, Professor Terry far surpasses Mr. Porritt, who uses much of the same material, but with less grasp upon its relations and significance. In fact, beginning with the chapter on the Lords of the Articles come Professor Terry's best results. After cautiously presenting a new and plausible theory concerning the rise of the great committee's power, he shows how heavy its tyranny really was, how the Parliament did not adopt, much less reject, its proposals, but simply observed their transformation into law by touch of the sceptre. On this point Porritt and even Gardiner go wrong, though

a nearly correct view was set forth by Rait and many years ago by Cosmo Innes. Then comes the process by which Parliament threw off its bondage to the Articles, and rose "to a reasonable level of procedure with the English Parliament". There is slight contribution, to be sure, on the two constitutional revolutions. Gardiner, for example, explains the essential facts of 1640, and those of 1689-1690 are well known. What Professor Terry does show is that Parliament made a great advance in procedure in 1640 and the years immediately following and held much of that gain between 1660 and 1689. The evidence for all this is scattered through several chapters, and some minor positions (for example, see the first half of page 146) appear mistaken. Also the more independent procedure of Parliament is not reconciled with its political docility. This illustrates a general limitation of the book—too few explanatory references to political history. Nevertheless, the general contribution of the later chapters is of highly substantial value.

The book ends with a patriotic lament. "Pathetic in other aspects, the Union is tragic in this, that it forever closed the career of Parliament at the moment when, after long preparation, it was ready and able to play a fitting part in the nation's history." All of which is, no doubt, affecting; still it seems possible that Professor Terry and those who share his regret might forget their tears by contemplating the present supremacy of Scotsmen in the British Empire.

JOSEPH PARKER WARREN.

Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution.
(Publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE.) *Louis XIV.:
La Fronde, Le Roi, Colbert (1643-1685).* Par E. LAVISSE.
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1906. Pp. 404.)

As the supplementary title implies, this volume has to deal with the institutional history of France during the period of Louis XIV.'s reign, prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The following is an analysis by chapters. "Livre I., *la Période Mazarine: Avant la Fronde. La Fronde, Après la Fronde*; Livre II., *l'Installation du Roi: Le Roi, le Premier Ministère, L'État en 1661, L'Offre de Colbert*; Livre III., *le Gouvernement économique: Finances, Travail, Grand Commerce et Colonies*; Livre IV., *le Gouvernement politique: Réduction à l'Obéissance, Lois, Justice et Police*; Livre V., *le Gouvernement de la société: Artisans et Paysans, l'Ordre des Officiers; Noblesse, Clergé.*"

The fact that this volume is from the pen of the editor-in-chief and projector of the series of which it is a part gives it great interest. The historical world has known that M. Lavissee has been devoting his time for some years past to the reign of Louis XIV. intimations of this have been conveyed to the public through the medium of essays from his pen bearing upon this period, which have appeared in various reviews from time to time, and M. Lavissee has lectured upon it at the Sorbonne.

The difficulty attending the writing of a history of the reign of Louis XIV. is very great. The magnitude of the politics of that time, the long length of the reign and the vast mass of material to be consulted, are three considerations. But independent of these circumstances, which laborious study may overcome, there is an added difficulty. For, in spite of the enormous mass of literature upon the subject, there is a paucity of essential material for an adequate study of it. At first blush, this statement may seem an exaggeration. Nevertheless it is true. We know much more of the history of the French Revolution or the Napoleonic era—though there are great gaps here—than we know or can know, for a long time to come, of the period of Louis XIV. Thanks to M. Clement's monumental publication of the correspondence of Colbert, supplemented by the work of other scholars, like Deppeing and Boislisle, the administrative history of Louis XIV. in its larger aspects is known, although M. Lavissee says, "It is impossible to actually give a precise idea of the transformations which have taken place in the government [of France] since the sixteenth century. They are complicated and confused; they have been made by measures of detail which have not been codified." He adds with a tinge of regret: "This chapter can give nothing but an appreciation of what the government was in general appearance."

We know much about the character of cultivated and court society in France during the reign of the Grand Monarque; but on the other hand, we know more of the structure of medieval society, of Roman society, of ancient Egyptian society, than of lower and middle-class society in France in the seventeenth century (p. 323, note).

When we turn to the history of the foreign politics of Louis XIV.'s reign, there is a much greater amount of published material. Yet even here, except in the case of the *Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs*, the investigator has to be guided largely by authorities instead of sources. He may consult Mignet and Legrelle for Spanish affairs; Lefebvre-Pontalis and Lonchay for the Netherlands, Auerbach for Germany, Goedecke for Austria; Reuss for Alsace; Carutti for Savoy; the recent books of MM. Waddington and Pagès upon the Great Elector, and M. Camille Rousset's *Louvois*, and Klopp's *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, a monumental political history of Europe from 1660 to 1714 in fourteen volumes, throughout. But the direct correspondence of Louis XIV.'s diplomatic agents,—Barillon, Lyonne, Colbert de Croissy, Vrillière, Château-Neuf, Louis de Crecy, Harlay Bonneuil, Callières and others, still lies unpublished in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. Prussia is ahead of France in this particular in having the *Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1864—), which Professor Philippson used to such advantage. Ranke and Fox made large use of Barillon's correspondence and printed selections from it, but the body of it is yet unpublished.

It is on the side of English affairs, however, that there is the greatest

void. English scholars have done nothing in years upon the relations of their country to Louis XIV.

Few of the English foreign state papers have yet seen the light, and many have not even been examined in their manuscript form by historians. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, only the Venetian Archives have been explored beyond the year 1600. Ranke made considerable use of the English foreign state papers in writing his *History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*, and the same may be said of Lingard; but the volume of these papers in the Record Office is so great that, under the present circumstances, it is impossible for any student, however diligent, to penetrate the mass of them. Few of them have been printed. There are private editions of the Lexington papers and Grimblot in 1848 published the *Letters of William III. and Louis XIV.* in two volumes. The Camden Society in 1859 published the *Savile Correspondence*, which throws valuable light upon the history of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; in 1874 it published *Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson*, two vols., and Mr. Curran has lately edited the *Despatches of an English Agent in Paris in the Reign of Louis XIV.* for the Royal Historical Society. May one not now hope that balance may be given the *Calendars of State Papers* by resuming the long-arrested publication of those pertaining to foreign affairs, which have yet advanced no farther than 1580, while the *Domestic Calendar* is well down through the seventeenth century?

In the main, the history of the relations of England and France in the seventeenth century is as yet imperfectly known. The Historical Manuscripts Commission has helped somewhat by printing summaries of certain correspondence, as in the case of the two Montagues, Ralph and Charles, dukes of Manchester, each of whom was an ambassador in Paris during the reign of Louis XIV. (1669, 1676, 1699; see *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, I. 193; IV. 245; VI. 316; VII. 207, 418; VIII. 35, 47; X. Part V., 130). The same is true of Vernon, secretary of state in 1698-1699. But the Egerton MSS. and the B.M. Additional MSS. abound in unpublished letters of his. We sorely need a life of the earl of Sunderland; some of his letters are in the Shrewsbury correspondence; others have been published by Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, n. s., vol. V.; and by Harris, *Life of William III.* But there are unpublished letters of Sunderland in B.M. Additional MSS. 28,094, 25,079, 25,082, 25,569. The Skelton papers too ought to be published. Skelton was English ambassador at Vienna and Venice, and warned James II. of William of Orange's designs upon England, being hand in glove with Barillon, Louis XIV.'s ambassador in London. There is a mass of his papers in both the Harleian MSS. and the B.M. Additional MSS. The history of the reign of Louis XIV. needs many more such works as Mignet's mighty compilation of documents upon the Spanish succession.

In the light of all these facts, it may be appreciated how great a

task M. Lavissee has undertaken. That it is admirably done goes without saying. Certainly no other person in France except perhaps M. Émile Bourgeois, the brilliant editor of Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* and of Spanheim's *Relation*, could have done so well. The author has chosen to devote the first volume to a study of the institutions of the reign, reserving political history for the one to follow. This method preserves the unity of the theme and is in harmony with the practice of the preceding volumes. But there are disadvantages in so doing in the present case. Europe was not only intensely interested in the internal affairs of France at this epoch (as M. Lavissee says, on p. 357), but the external politics of France profoundly affected the ways of things within. This is notably true in the case of the relation of the clergy to the king, during the war with Holland; Colbert's commercial policy at home, and independent of his protective tariffs, reacted upon Holland and Venice. In the present volume we see these things in half-face only.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Les Deux Frances et leurs Origines Historiques. Par PAUL SEIPEL. (Lausanne: Payot; and Paris: Alcan. 1905. Pp. xxxvi, 409.)

I RECOMMENDED this book lately to an American friend who was in search of French reading at the same time serious and attractive. He followed my advice and wrote expressly to say that he had seldom found so exactly what he desired.

In a few months the work,—the conclusion of which is dated: Zürich, June, 1905,—has made its way through the mass of contemporary publications and one can say, without exaggerating, that it is one of the events of the French literary year. The best proof is that, being from a Swiss pen and not written in Paris, it had nevertheless the honor of a special article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Professor Seippel's study was suggested by the Dreyfus affair, but it does not belong to the literature of that eventful case. It is a clear-sighted, impressively written chapter of the psychological history of nations, or as Germans would say, "Völkerpsychologie". The two Frances in question are "la France noire et la France rouge", the France of the Kings and the Church and the France of the Revolution. The author shows with striking evidence how these irreducible adversaries are daughters of the same mother, how the mentality of both is at the bottom Roman and how they fought their fiery battles, from the times of the Renaissance and the Reformation down to the Revolution and the nineteenth century, with exactly the same swords.

"Following the example of the American states, France draws up a "Declaration of Rights". It is intended for all nations and for all "times. As in the Crusades, France feels a divine mission, the mission of converting the world to her new ideals. Thus liberty, which in

"the English Revolution remained local, acquires through the communitative genius of France a power of universal expansion. Her writers, her armies or simply her example was to sow it throughout Europe from one end to the other. The storm blew a gale, throwing down thrones and ruining edifices of the past. But, scattering ruins, as it did, everywhere, the seeds it brought sprang up only in the countries which were ready to receive them. The French Revolution freed the nations which were ripe for liberty. It did not free France. Her Roman training on the contrary tended to the extinction of moral individuality, which is the elementary substance of every liberty. And liberty becomes to the French people an intellectual tenet, to be contrasted with the ideas of the past, a dogma to be dialectically laid down, defined, codified and imposed like an ordinance by force, by government. People ought to be constrained to be free, says Rousseau. Terrorism will do it.

"In order to found liberty, the men in power started by suppressing it more radically than ever did the most despotic monarchy. But French liberty was not to take root any more than liberty trees under the pavement of public streets. It did not grow up from the soil like a plant, it was driven in it like a stake. It did not respond to a moral want in men's souls" (p. 81).

The following enumeration of a few chapters will show how accurately the author's demonstration is conducted: "The Roman Tradition", "Calvin's Reformation", "From Renaissance to Revolution: The *Encyclopédie*", "From Reformation to Revolution: Rousseau", "Revolutionary Theocracy", "Caesar back again", "The Concordat", "The Counter-Revolution", "The Revolution of 1848 and the Second Empire".

This is the purely historical part of the book. In a second part, which bears the title: The Moral Causes of the Present Conflicts, the reader will find progressive studies on Auguste Comte and the religion of Science, The Church of Freethinkers, Roman Church and French Society, The Struggle of the Future, etc.

The book contains literary portraits of leaders of French thought which are *chefs-d'œuvre*. It is evidently the subject in which the writer is a master. In the historical part of his work his acknowledged guide was Taine, the Taine of the *Origines de la France Contemporaine*. The latter's judgments being accepted as bases of the argumentation, some of the results are open to the criticisms which ought to be made against his information. When Taine studied the French Revolution he was under the influence of political events which biased his mind. As one may see in his letters just published, he was frightened by the Parisian Commune of 1871 and wrote under the obsession of disorder. This made him often unfair to men and times of the great event he had to judge. The riots concealed from him the revolution.

I think Professor Seippel has relied too much on his main source. The safe habit not to found an opinion on a single instance has lessened

the fault. It exists however and examples of its consequences might be pointed out. It would be a difficult task to translate in a quite satisfactory manner such a book, full of finely penned observations, of delicate, of eloquent pages; but among works of its kind few do better deserve a translator.

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late LORD ACTON, LL.D. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Vol. IX. *Napoleon.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Pp. xxviii, 946.)

THIS volume deals with the history of the world for a few short years; years, however, in which the furnace was heated seven-fold, and when much that had long passed for sterling metal was proven to be base, flowing off into oblivion with the slag. Bound up together in this work are twenty-four monographs by sixteen different authors: British, French, German, Swiss, and Russian. Within the covers are about four hundred thousand words of text and fifty thousand, more or less, of bibliography, chronology, and index. The contents deal with the histories of all historic lands in this fiery epoch, except with that of America. In some sense the career of Napoleon Bonaparte affords the observation tower from which events are viewed, but every one of the contemporary sovereignties has its turn in that capacity, so that the eye of the mind is occupied now with one perspective, now with another, and frequently is confused by the overlapping of two or more historic systems, conceptions, and methods. Throughout there is an apodictic air of ultimacy, a magisterial appearance of soundness, completeness and finality.

The reviewer has not read this ponderous work in its entirety: few persons are likely to do so, except those whose time and diligence are not limited nor otherwise engaged. Yet he has noted, almost at every venture with the book, certain facts which must not be overlooked and which are proven, on further examination, to be characteristic of the enterprise as a whole. Granting that the plan here executed remains substantially that marked out by Lord Acton before his death, a claim frequently reiterated, we must nevertheless remark that the excellent editors who carry his charge, as ably as they may, have nevertheless been unable to string the bow of Ulysses. There are both assumptions and contradictions which would not have escaped his eye; from the array of facts as given in the book, conclusions are drawn which are illogical and must for consistency's sake be regarded as based on a quite different statement of the case; the authorities given in the bibliography have either been overlooked or rejected; and, finally, there is that which, according to Lord Acton's letters, his soul loathed—an air

of impartiality which when carefully scrutinized turns out to be a mere absence of enthusiasm.

Let us first take an example or two of gratuitous assumption. On page 52 is the account of Nelson's behavior at Copenhagen; given here as a conclusion from contemporary knowledge, yet standing exactly as it might have been written with the imperfect knowledge and national, patriotic enthusiasm of an earlier generation. The facts as stated on that page are dubiously questioned by every recent critic, and for sound reasons: the evidence is easily accessible in the second volume of Mahan's *Life of Nelson*. Again, on p. 235, it is calmly stated that after the treaty of Tilsit information regarding the secret articles "reached the ministry" and led to the second bombardment of Copenhagen: a declaration which, granting some credibility to hearsays and fictions, is even then misleading, and in the light of cold reason almost certainly untrue. The paragraph on pp. 297 and 298 gives a better and very different impression of the circumstances. Another assumption of similar character which caught the writer's eye is on p. 507, where it is stated that the Napoleonic wars depopulated France; this is a fiction based solely on *a priori* reasoning and long since exploded by careful investigations, easily accessible to any one. Should these be the only instances of so grave a fault, the reviewer would be amazed, for he did not set out to search for them, but fell upon them unawares.

In a similar way contradictions of a rather startling kind force themselves upon the attention. Regarding the events subsequent to the treaty of Amiens, the reader may, for instance, compare pp. 80, 103 and 244. On the first of these, Bonaparte foresaw and foretold the coming struggle; on the second is given the Tory account of the Wentworth scene, with the curious remark that Napoleon had no belief in the warlike intentions of England; on the third is, if not a flat contradiction, at least a very cautious hedging as to Napoleon's plans for war. Incidentally, in the last passage it is stated that in England trade was prosperous and credit good, while only two pages earlier the figures are given which show the ravages on British commerce begun in 1803, increased more than fifty per cent. in that very year 1804, and steadily growing until in 1810 and 1811 the country was on the verge of famine and ruin. Such confusing paradoxes are inevitable in two accounts by different authors from opposite points of view.

The treatment, or rather the varying treatments, of Napoleon's Boulogne camp is, however, on the whole the most bewildering and puzzling example in this volume of how "too many cooks spoil the broth". Some of the authors take for granted that Napoleon really intended the invasion of England; one gives minutely the successive stages in the evolution of his plan; others are uneasily conscious that the whole thing was a perpetual menace to wear out British patience and exhaust British resources; another judges that Napoleon as usual, so in this case, desired "*faire toujours son thème en deux façons*", and thinks the preparations

for continental war so incomplete as to indicate the greater seriousness of the invasion plan. The almost overwhelming counter-evidence is nowhere given. In 1802 Bonaparte declared his policy of keeping Great Britain "in constant dread"; he had already dropped the project of the Directory for invasion as a chimera; he declined propositions for the propulsion of his boats which would have made the plan feasible; all the best observers of the time, diplomats and memoir-writers, knew the purpose was not serious; his preparations for continental war may have been poor, but they were clearly explained by the emperor to his council of state and regarded by him as admirable, while his march across Europe was unsurpassed as a strategic move, being brilliantly successful against the Third Coalition, alike from the military, the diplomatic, and the political points of view; finally, what would have been the fate of any invading army, however large, thrown into the wasp's nest of a hostile population and cut off from its base, an event sure beyond peradventure in the relative conditions of the French and British navies. Surely Bonaparte had not merely strategic genius but ordinary common sense.

We had intended to discuss somewhat the idiosyncrasy which, in treating of military matters, emphasizes the checks in a great campaign triumphantly concluded, and says nothing of the unity in design which makes tactical defeats unimportant where a strategic combination must and does assure ultimate success. One example of this in the book under review is the weak and misleading treatment of the Marengo campaign by a Swiss professor; another, scarcely less reprehensible, is the account of the battles of the Marchfeld in 1809 by a retired German general. Had Bonaparte lost at Marengo, the campaign was nevertheless destined to success by reason of his larger combinations; Aspern was a partial defeat, but the strategic conception behind it and the means at Napoleon's command could only lead to one result; Wagram produced the peace of Schönbrunn. On the other hand, Waterloo likewise was the close of a brilliant campaign, but the Napoleonic strategy, entirely justified until after Ligny, seems, in the light of our latest knowledge as conveyed by Lettow-Vorbeck's study, to have been completely thwarted when the Prussians, instead of retreating to Namur as a matter of course, and as they probably would have done under Blücher's direction, drew off to Wavre, toward the French flank, under the direction of the staff, by a decision made at night when the general-in-chief was disabled; and so were ready for the timely junction with Wellington made next day. This march decided the fortune of war, not being disturbed by Grouchy's tardy movements; but the plan was not Blücher's, as is reiterated in this volume, the march was begun before the old general recovered, when he accepted the inevitable.

Most of the faulty points we have indicated are inherent in the co-operative writing of history. Even the best-considered and best-executed schemes, like those of the French publishers, which bear the

name of Lavissee, lack coherence and unity. It appears to the reviewer that the *Cambridge Modern History* falls far short of the moderate excellence attained even by them. This volume, moreover, bears the simple name *Napoleon* on the back to indicate its covering the epoch of that great man. It contains chapters on Great Britain and Ireland, 1792-1815, and on the British empire for the same years. But the act of Napoleon which has had a more profound significance in later history than any other is barely mentioned, the sale of Louisiana; and while it is true that the history of the United States for these forty-three years had no determinative influence on that of Europe at the time, yet its career as a neutral power was uncommonly interesting in Great Britain at the time and its history was far more pregnant for the later destiny of the world than that of most European powers, let alone Canada, India, or the West Indies. To Americans the omission must seem very strange indeed.

Considerable wonder must also be felt as to the public for which such a volume is made. The expert scholar will find little satisfaction in disconnected monographs, even by careful compilers; the intelligent layman must feel strangely confused by the contradictory views of the same events in the different divisions, where they so constantly overlap; the popular taste has not been consulted at all. Cyclopedias have their uses, and as a book of reference this one has a certain value, though it is neither a monument of British scholarship nor of Continental, there being neither continuity nor unity in the product of a well-meant effort to weld the two. The earlier years of the period are described, for different purposes, four different times; the second quarter, six; the third, eight; and the last, ten times; either wholly or partially. A single author might do this with clarity, sixteen cannot; and the limit of possible editorial revision and change for the sake of unity is quickly reached. The impersonal, mechanical quality must be avoided at all hazards in every manufactured article, much more in what purports to be history.

Of course, there is excellent work in this fascies of historical tracts. Viewed singly, most of them are good, especially those on the Codes, the Concordats, the Continental System, and the Peninsular War. The last chapter, that on St. Helena, is a dispassionate summary of excellent quality. Moreover, where so much has to be omitted, the selection of matter is generally judicious. For the adventurous reader the great channel of Napoleon's career is well charted and buoyed. Yet such will be few; there is little charm of style anywhere, no quality of mysterious evolution in the subject which compels attention, no magisterial character in the book to command the highest respect. As to the bibliography, no arrangement could have been invented more forbidding to the searcher after authors, titles, or subjects.

The History of England from Addington's Administration to the Close of William IV.'s Reign (1801-1837). By the Hon. GEORGE C. BRODRICK, D.C.L., completed and revised by J. K. FOTHERINGHAM, M.A. [*The Political History of England*, edited by WILLIAM HUNT and REGINALD LANE POOLE, Volume XI.] (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. xix, 486.)

MR. BRODRICK accepted a difficult task when he undertook to write the history of a period of English national life so full of controversial matter as that from 1801 to 1837. What he produced is certainly not a great book: it presents no particularly new views and draws upon no material hitherto unused; it is neither brilliant, nor striking, either in style or in matter. Nevertheless, it deserves greater praise than is due to these qualities, for it covers the field thoroughly, its writer's views of controverted questions are unusually sound; his judgment is excellent, his temper almost ideal. So fair is he, so impartial in his array of the facts and in the conclusions drawn from them, that it would be difficult to determine, if one judged from this book alone, whether Mr. Brodrick was in his politics a liberal or a conservative.

The writer is particularly happy in judgment and temper when he has to portray the characters and weigh the achievements of English politicians, statesmen or military leaders. His little character-sketches are models of their kind, admirable for insight, completeness and brevity. Perhaps the best are those of Brougham, Peel and Huskisson, though it is almost invidious to discriminate where all are so good. His tribute to Castlereagh is thoroughly deserved and does complete justice to a statesman who has so long suffered in the comparison with Canning, despite the fact that the materials for a correct judgment have always been at the disposal of historians.

What has thus far been said applies with especial force to the treatment of English affairs and English men. When the writer (in this case Mr. Fotheringham) touches continental or American affairs the sureness of touch vanishes, the knowledge is plainly not so full nor so accurate, the authorities depended upon are not so reliable—in a word, the work is distinctly below the standard of that part which is devoted to purely English matters. There are errors in fact and there are errors in judgment. The opinion of Napoleon and of his acts is the old-fashioned English one, though there is no trace of the old-fashioned English bitterness. In the treatment of American events, though the writer is fair in so far as his information permits him to be fair, he relies upon authorities which need constant checking, and so far as one can determine by reading over the list of books, this check has not been applied. Thus in treating of the naval events of the War of 1812 he draws upon James, apparently to the exclusion of all other writers, but a man versed in this history would not have neglected Henry Adams's ac-

counts of the sea-fights, if he chose to pass by our professional naval historians. The accounts of naval duels are not accurate. Neither is the relation of the facts leading up to the firing on the Chesapeake by the *Leopard*. Yet no fair-minded American can find fault with the general account or the general conclusions.

These criticisms fall to Mr. Fotheringham's share. On the other hand, even Mr. Brodrick departs from his judicial calm when he considers Irish events or Irish characters. O'Connell is almost the only person in the book who is treated with something less than his deserts, and whom the writer rarely mentions without a derogatory epithet. George IV. alone shares this unhappy distinction with the Irish champion, but in George's case the judgment is fair and righteous altogether; in the case of O'Connell it is not so. A similar criticism must be made wherever the writer touches upon the action of the Irish people. He lacks sympathy with them; he lacks understanding of them. In particular he cannot forgive O'Connell and his followers for what he calls their ingratitude in refusing to support the government which granted Catholic Emancipation. Yet he admits that this government was forced to grant emancipation; that it was nothing more or less than a capitulation to the Irish. It would more than task his abilities to explain to the world why the Irish or any one else should feel gratitude for a compulsory favor.

A fault common in most English books is not avoided in this. Everywhere the pages are crowded with wearisome and unessential details. Thus Mr. Brodrick never fails to name every member of a new administration when the new administration comes into office. Similarly he seems to think it necessary to mention every fact in English history which occurred during the period under consideration. It is not that he does not discriminate between the essential and the unessential. He does this admirably, but he seems to lack the moral courage to throw over the comparatively worthless part of his cargo. The multifarious details add nothing to the force of the story, while they tend to distract and confuse the reader.

Mr. Brodrick very properly stresses the importance of economic events in this period of English history, especially those economic facts which are connected with national politics. Thus he emphasizes Huskisson's policy, pointing out that it necessarily led to free-trade and was intended to lead to it. Huskisson's merit in procuring the overthrow of the old Navigation acts and the adoption of reciprocity as a step towards eventual free-trade is well and clearly told and proper credit given to Huskisson's foresight and clearness of vision. On economic questions, generally, the author is much more at home than is customary with historians, and it is only to be regretted that he did not bestow a little more space upon the sufferings of the factory population and the causes of those sufferings than he has seen fit to do. It is true that these things are not overlooked, but they might justly be stressed more than they are.

The account of the reform act of 1832 and its passage through Parliament is especially full and especially good. The writer points out clearly the importance of the act and the fact that it was in the nature of a compromise between the extremely radical demands of one party and the conservative opposition of the other. Issue may, however, be taken with his conclusion that the act created a revolution in the English state system by destroying the balance between King, Lords and Commons and throwing the final decision of all disputed questions into the hands of the lower house. The truth is that the act never could have been passed if the revolution had not already taken place, and if the Lords and King had not already been relegated to a position of secondary importance in the English constitution. What the act did was to furnish means for the completion of a revolution already far on the way to completion.

It is a pity that Mr. Brodrick did not live to give the book its final revision. As already intimated, Mr. Fotheringham was hardly equal to completing the task as well as his elder would have done it. Some minor criticisms connected with the failure to revise thoroughly may be made. For instance, Mr. Fotheringham very absurdly uses the names Peter and Pedro indifferently in speaking of the Emperor of Brazil. He does this constantly and on the same page. Such carelessness is inexcusable. Ibrahim Pasha was the adopted son of Mehemet Ali. It is doubtful if the break-up of the coalition killed Pitt. Napoleon did not need Santo Domingo in order to hold Louisiana, but desired Louisiana in order to carry out his Santo Domingo policy. The bibliography is lamentably weak in foreign titles, and *Seknosos* for *Seignobos* is an error sufficient to justify doubt of the compiler's knowledge of the French writer. Finally, it would have been better to omit the chapter on Literature and Social Progress.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

Lord Hobhouse, a Memoir. By L. T. HOBHOUSE and J. L. HAMMOND. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Company. 1905. Pp. 280.)

THOUGH the name of Lord Hobhouse will be known on this side of the Atlantic only to specialists, he played a considerable part in the readjustment of modern English society to changed conditions. As a member of the Charity Commission he was conspicuous in attacking abuses connected with charitable endowments. On the endowed Schools Commission he did similar work. He was partly instrumental in securing wider rights for married women to hold property independently of their husbands. He served in India as the legal member of the governing Council. In time he became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and he was made a peer in order that he might aid in the legal work of the House of Lords. He also was, in later years, a member of the London School Board and of the London County Council.

Hobhouse was a Liberal of the old school, somewhat doctrinaire, though in theory he scorned *a priori* reasoning, a little hard and lacking in sympathy, perhaps incapable by temperament of understanding the point of view of, for instance, the New Imperialism. He was high-minded and courageous; his biographer quotes with something like awe the statement that he bearded even Lord Rosebery in the London County Council. So public-spirited and so resolute a friend of freedom was he that, while not agreeing with Bradlaugh's and Holyoake's views, he helped them because their fight was, he thought, the fight for liberty. He could defy the opinion of his order as, for instance, when he was one of the few peers who supported Home Rule and when he declared for radical reform of the Upper Chamber. War with all its terrible consequences he hated, and, when his niece was deported from South Africa because of her agitation against the British concentration camps, he took up her cause with earnest asperity. Though such men serve society well, the biography is somewhat melancholy reading. We hear much of things going wrong, little of their going right. There is no touch of humor or of picturesqueness, though a career such as Lord Hobhouse's must have furnished abundant opportunity for both.

Of abuses in every form Hobhouse was the resolute enemy, and when he was first appointed to the Charity Commission there were plenty of them to attack. Large funds were still devoted to useless or eccentric purposes. The ringers at Abbey Church, Bath, had been bequeathed £50 a year by one Thomas Nash "on condition of their ringing, on the whole peal of bells, with clappers muffled, various solemn and doleful changes, allowing proper intervals for rest and refreshment, from eight o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening, on the fourteenth of May in every year, being the anniversary of my wedding-day; and also on every anniversary of the day of my decease to ring a grand bob-major and merry mirthful peals, unmuffled, during the same space of time, and allowing the same intervals as before mentioned, in joyful commemoration of my happy release from domestic tyranny and wretchedness."

It required a stern fight to get Parliament to interfere and change such endowments from their original purpose. The same fight was necessary to get the funds of endowed schools really devoted to education and not, as in many cases, to the practical pensioning of useless masters doing nothing to fulfil the purposes of the endowments. Here too were silly provisions to override. A founder at Barton had made a condition under which "All the children are to be taught to read, but none are to be taught the dangerous arts of writing or arithmetic, except such as the lord of the manor shall think fit." The city companies of London furnished another paradise of abuses; with an income of £440,000 a year they spent £150,000 on public and benevolent objects, £175,000 on the cost of maintenance and £100,000 for banquets. Lord Hobhouse's was just the type of mind to get to the heart of such absurdities. In the

wider political world he was against the forward policy in India just as he was against the Boer War. For him, as a Liberal of the old school, the times grew more and more out of joint. Shortly before his death, viewing the New Imperialism and the New Socialism, he said, "There is nothing for the isolated thinker to do but to sit by and wonder what will come next."

GEORGE M. WRONG.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XXVIII., 1637-1638. Vol. XXX., 1640. Vol. XXXI., 1640. Vol. XXXII., 1640. Vol. XXXIII., 1519-1522. Vol. XXXIV., 1519-1522, 1280-1605. Vol. XXXV., 1629-1649. Vol. XXXVI., 1649-1666. Vol. XXXVII., 1669-1676. Vol. XXXVIII., 1674-1683. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1905-1906. Pp. 370, 323, 301, 299, 367, 453, 325, 308, 307, 287.)

THIS large undertaking, despite the lack of appreciation with which it has met, goes forward with great promptness on the publisher's part and with much faithfulness of effort on the part of the diligent editors. Of the twelve volumes issued during 1905, four are here before us for review, in which matters ecclesiastico-historical dominate, while the volumes XXXIII. to XXXVIII., issued during the first half of 1906, are more general in character.

The "ecclesiastical appendix" occupies nearly all of volume XXVIII., while the Dominican history of Friar Diego Aduarte takes up two-thirds of volume XXX. and the entire two succeeding volumes. The appendix in question is a very useful compilation and translation of extracts from published works, from Colin's *Labor Evangélica* (Madrid, 1663), which goes back to the earliest missionary days, down to the Jesuit father Algae's survey of the state of church and religion in the Philippines at the collapse of Spanish rule. The Jesuit Delgado and the Franciscan father San Antonio show very well the state of the Philippine church in the first half of the eighteenth century, after the most active missionary work was over. The best selections of all are the general discussions of matters religious and ecclesiastical in the Philippines by the French traveller Le Gentil (*Voyages dans les Mers des Indes*, Paris, 1781), the German traveller Jagor (*Reisen in den Philippinen*, Berlin, 1873; in the Philippines in 1859), and the Spanish official Sinibaldo de Mas (*Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1841* (Madrid, 1843). The statistical tables of the church (on population, parishes, etc.), taken from the Bazeta and Bravo *Diccionario* (Madrid, 1850) and a recent history of Philippine Recollects (Manila, 1879), fill a place,—but the narrative passages from the latter are not altogether reliable. Besides prefixing

to the appendix a little compilation of royal decrees regarding the regular clergy in the Philippines, the editors have chosen and displayed this material very well, giving us information particularly on these points: growth of Philippine population, also development of particular regions, indicated by the spread of parishes, the ecclesiastical censuses, etc.; upon the contests between regular and secular clergy, with evidence that there were proportionately more seculars in early years than later, and the hold of the friars upon Philippine parishes grew stronger quite steadily till the last half-century; upon the friars' attitude toward the Filipinos, and *vice versa*; upon the government's support of the church, the property of the religious orders, and the Philippine educational and charitable institutions. Of course, the appendix is not a complete survey of any one of these matters, which figure in every period of Philippine history; but a good deal of related matter is here brought together in convenient form for consultation.

Friar Aduarte's Dominican chronicles (Manila, 1640), though much less verbose, tedious and unproductive of vital information than most of the chronicles dignified by the title of "Philippine histories", are not worth three volumes' space. They have been synopsized very considerably in translation, with omission of much matter regarding Dominican missionaries in China and Japan not pertinent to this series. One could still eliminate the major portion of the work, and lose nothing that is really valuable to the historical student, as are the chapters and passages giving information on the early discussions over secularization, on Philippine population just after the conquest, and on the missions among the wild peoples in Pangasinan, Zambales and the Cagayan valley. The few readers who like to follow the old chroniclers for their very prolixity, their tales of miracles wrought in behalf of the faith, etc., may best be sent to the original texts with their quaint old Spanish that often defies rendition. The historical student has little need for accounts of Philippine chapter-sessions, or biographies of worthy missionaries long since dead; and he will begrudge the space given to this sort of thing. Not very much of historical value is to be gleaned from the 125 pages of Dominican, Franciscan and Recollect chronicles in volume XXXV., the latter continued in volume XXXVI., while volume XXXVII. is more than two-thirds made up of Dominican and Augustinian chronicles of very scant historical value, outside of Friar Diaz's account of the secularization controversy. Not so the sprightly, also well-directed, observations and information given by the Dominican traveller, Father Navarrete (*Tratados Históricos*, Madrid, 1676), at the end of this volume and the beginning of volume XXXVIII. The separate documents upon the question of secularization in the seventeenth century are very valuable, particularly the résumé in volume XXXVI.

Pigafetta's relation of the Magellan voyage, which has been published separately and is reviewed by itself, appears in this series also, occupying volumes XXXIII. and XXXIV. (in part). The latter

volume is enlarged to accommodate 25 documents of early Spanish-Philippine history (1565-1605) just obtained from the archives (nearly all from Seville). Of these, the royal instructions on slavery and other matters addressed to Governor Legaspi are the most notable. Place is made, too, for an extract from the Chinese geographer Chao-Yu-Kua (ca. 1280), a brief chapter describing Luzon (and vaguely the Bisayas) as the Chinese traders had come to know them in the voyages of their junks. This is the earliest (plain) reference to the Philippines yet brought to light in any writings. It shows the Filipinos of the thirteenth century weaving fabrics and gathering raw materials for trade, using silks and some iron implements and living in villages of some size (on the sea-coasts at least).

There is a brief account of Corcuera's 1638 campaign in Joló in volume XXVIII., and 100 pages in volume XXX. are occupied with the account of Philippine commerce up to 1640 that was given in Alvarez de Abreu's *Extracto Historial* (Madrid, 1736)—which summary of the early galleon-trade was gleaned mainly from documents of Grau y Montfalcon and is a well-nigh indispensable part of the literature of the subject. The chronology of seventeenth-century history in the Philippines is picked up again in volume XXXV. and in the remaining four volumes is carried forward, in a miscellaneous array of documents, from 1638 to 1683. The compilation of extracts from various early chroniclers regarding Philippine revolts of the seventeenth century, which fills half of volume XXXVIII., is well done and useful. The passages from Dampier's voyages bearing on the Philippine Islands, begun in this volume, are to be concluded in the next. We note, besides, only the extract from Sinibaldo de Mas on judicial conditions in 1842, appended to volume XXXVI. Despite the appendixes of this sort, covering in part the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one cannot but remark again, in connection with the comments made above as to the value of the friar-chronicles, that almost two-thirds of the volumes to be published in this series have been devoted to practically a single century of Spanish-Philippine history.

JAMES A. LEROY.

The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts. By CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, Associate Professor of History in Leland Stanford Junior University. [*Harvard Historical Studies*, Volume XII.] (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1906.)

THE subject discussed by Professor Duniway in this volume includes not only the history of the censorship or supervision of the publications of the Massachusetts press from its first establishment in 1638 down to the present time, but it also involves an examination of the restraints imposed in colonial days upon the importation and distribution of works

published elsewhere, and at a later date of criminal prosecutions for libellous publications. The author tells us in his preface that it was his original intention to investigate the restrictions imposed upon the freedom of the press in the British American colonies, but the magnitude of the task involved in the examination of unpublished manuscript archives led to a decision to limit the investigation to Massachusetts. A mere glance at the pages of this work together with a cursory examination of the foot-notes therein would disclose the fact that the research was based upon material drawn from sources available only to one whose presence in Massachusetts must have been prolonged sufficiently for him to become familiar with the places of deposit of the archives, of the court records and of the files of the provincial newspapers. The title-page describes Mr. Duniway as a Californian professor, but the preface makes clear that this admirable research was prosecuted while the author was at Cambridge. It is evident that to examine the files of newspapers referred to, required that he should visit Boston, Worcester and New York, and repeated references in text and notes show that, in addition to an exhaustive examination of the published records of the colony, he carefully perused the manuscript records of the General Court in the days of the province and instigated a search in the bewildering chaos of the Massachusetts archives. Moreover, it is evident that the writer pressed his investigation still farther and caused a fruitful search to be made of the files and records of the Superior Court of Judicature at the Suffolk Court House and of the unpublished instructions to the royal governors, copies of which have been procured by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for publication.

The development of the subject required that the contemporaneous state of opinion in England should be brought out and that the causes for the difference of progress on the two sides of the Atlantic should be explained. At the outset, in Massachusetts, it is for a while the right of "freedom of discussion" which comes under the author's consideration, a right which comprehends "freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press" (p. 2). The people who undertook the settlement of Massachusetts did not, he says (p. 16), conceive that there was any legal right of discussion. Therefore dissenters from the ecclesiastical policy of the colony were expelled by Endicott and at a later date Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were banished. The outcome of all this was "the banishment of the spirit of free inquiry" (p. 21).

The first formal act for restrictive censorship of the press in Massachusetts was passed in October 1662 (p. 41). An unsuccessful effort was made in 1649 to secure the passage of a similar act (p. 25), but although a number of incidents occurred between 1641 and 1662 involving the circulation of printed matter and touching upon other forms of public agitation, their only effect was to show the tendency of Massachusetts to place restrictions on the freedom of discussion. The attempt

of Sir Henry Vane in one case to relieve an author from censure was met with the answer "we held it our duty and believe we were called of God to proceed against him." Books of the Quakers were seized and burned at this time and the author concludes that prior to the establishment of the censorship, 1662, "there was no recognition of a general right of freedom of discussion or of a special right of freedom of the press." The Act of 1662 was repealed in 1663, but in 1665 a new licensing act was passed which apparently remained in force until the colony charter was vacated.

Under Dudley in the days of the president and council, control over the press was arbitrarily exercised and the royal instructions to Andros required him to maintain supervision over the printing of "books, pamphlets or other matters."

Under the *ad interim* government inaugurated after the overthrow of Andros, the governor and council assumed that they had the right to issue an order forbidding any person "to set forth anything in print without license first obtained." Following this came the organization of the government under the provincial charter, and in the instructions to the royal governors down to the year 1730 sections are to be found ordering a careful supervision over publications in the province. During this period there were spasmodic exercises of control over the press, but the interference on the part of the government diminished as time went on, while the number of publications which were issued without license steadily increased. In 1722, however, the General Court intervened and passed an order forbidding James Franklin to "print or publish the New England Courant, or any pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the Secretary of the Province."

The instructions to Belcher in 1730 did not contain the clause requiring him to maintain a censorship of the press. Up to that time licensed newspapers printed in the province had paraded the fact that they were "published by authority". Now they were forbidden to do so, and resort was had to criminal prosecutions for protection from improper or injurious publications. The review of the libel cases which arose in the days of the province is quite interesting, but the author confines himself to the consideration of criminal prosecutions. This compelled him to omit reference to the suit of Admiral Knowles against Dr. Douglass, which resulted in the suppression of the *Summary, Political and Historical*, etc., as originally published and the withdrawal from the market of such copies containing the libellous matter complained of as could be procured. The *Summary* is one of the few contemporary contributions made to our provincial history, and Mr. Duniway might have been forgiven if he had stretched the limits which he imposed upon himself and enlivened his pages with some of the doctor's picturesque language. (See *Publications of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, III. 213, 240.)

In Bernard's day, the House asserted that the liberty of the press is a great bulwark of the liberty of the people and that it was their

duty "to defend and maintain it." Then came the period when military power dominated the situation and in Boston at least, pamphlets and newspapers opposed to the crown were arbitrarily suppressed.

The state constitution asserted that liberty of the press was essential to the security of freedom in the state and therefore ought not to be restrained. Unrestricted but undefined freedom of the press then became part of the organic law of Massachusetts. The author closes his exposition of the subject with a discussion of the law of libel in the state of Massachusetts from the adoption of the constitution to the present time.

An appendix is annexed to the volume containing copies of documents illustrative of the subject discussed. A second appendix has a valuable note on sources and a full list of the secondary authorities which are cited. A carefully prepared index closes the volume, which forms a valuable addition to the *Harvard Historical Studies* series in which it is published, and of which it forms the twelfth volume.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

Quakerism and Politics: Essays. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, LL.D.
(Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach. 1905. Pp. 224.)

THIS modest volume comprises nine essays or addresses chiefly historical in character. The majority of these relate to features of early Pennsylvania history not usually emphasized, as the following enumeration of some of the titles will reveal: "A Government of Idealists", "The Friend in Politics", "A Colonial Peace Controversy", "How the Friends Freed their Slaves", "The Welsh Settlers of Haverford". Two treat of subsequent periods in the history of the state; the one entitled "The Causes of Pennsylvania's Ills" was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* as a reply to an earlier article on "The Ills of Pennsylvania", which had attracted considerable attention, in part by reason of its attributing the political ill of the state to the non-militant habits impressed upon it by its Quaker founders; the other upon "The Improvement of Pennsylvania Politics" presents a picture of political depravity during the years immediately following the Revolution. The two remaining papers, treating of "The Friends' Meeting" and "The Basis of Quaker Morality", may be regarded as a presentation and justification of Quaker theory and practice. "As a whole", the author informs us, these essays "are intended to show that the foundation principles of the colony, on which it greatly prospered,—liberty, peace, justice to Indians and negroes, simplicity and fidelity in government—were logical outgrowths of the Quaker habit of mind and doctrine".

The papers relating to the early history of Pennsylvania, in the main, are non-controversial in tone and present a frank and truthful view of the part the Friends played in the politics of the colony. The author indicates how a great Quaker political machine was built up during the eighteenth century, and how effective it was in keeping control of the

provincial politics. To this end, at times its leaders resorted to acts which "verged on the methods of the sharp politician". While admitting that often "the basis of their morality was defective", that the Friends were often opportunists and sometimes violated their own principles, yet Dr. Sharpless maintains that in the main they remained true to their ideals and surrendered their political control rather than violate their principles. In discussing Penn's Indian policy, incidentally the opportunity is taken to controvert, with considerable success, the contention of Parkman and John Fiske that the success of this policy was due to the character of the Indians rather than to "Quaker justice". The author, however, in his admiration for Quaker principles is led to declare that "the Declaration of Independence was simply the assertion of Penn's position (in regard to liberty), and the negative of the New England statement and practice". This conclusion seems both forced and unjust.

In the essays dealing with later conditions of Pennsylvania politics, not only does Dr. Sharpless easily refute the contention of the anonymous author of "The Ills of Pennsylvania", but in several of the other essays he endeavors to show, possibly with less success, the enduring effect of Quaker principles in American politics. He summons Friends to participate again actively in politics in order to aid in their purification and in securing greater efficiency in the government. It is of interest to note that since the publication of this volume, the author has put his precepts into practice by responding to the call of his fellow-citizens to stand for political office.

There are a few instances of careless proof-reading in the volume, the most noticeable ones occurring on pages 39 and 42.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi.

By Captain PHILIP PITTMAN, with introduction, notes and index by FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1906. Pp. 165.)

Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818. By ELIAS PYM FORDHAM. Edited by FREDERICK AUSTIN OGG. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1906. Pp. 248.)

Audubon's Western Journal: 1849-1850, with biographical memoir by his daughter, MARIA A. AUDUBON, introduction, notes, and index by FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1906. Pp. 243.)

THIS Western publishing house continues its contributions to the study of Western history by three volumes, only one of which is a

reprint. Chronologically the books extend over nearly a century of American history and geographically they reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In point of time, the first place belongs to Pittman's brief descriptions. The scanty observations on the posts and settlements along the Mississippi recorded by this British engineer would scarcely have been worth placing in type in 1770 or reprinting at the present day had chroniclers been more numerous in the isolated French villages after the Jesuit *Relations* ceased and before the advent of George Rogers Clark and Governor John Todd. Pittman as an ensign in the British army entered the Floridas with His Majesty's troops soon after the transfer in 1763 from Spanish to British control. During the ensuing five years he was engaged in making surveys along the Mississippi and the Gulf tributaries. The travel necessary to these labors gave him opportunity of making observations which he used later in his descriptions. Beginning with the Balise, a defensive post maintained on an island near the mouth of the Mississippi, Pittman described in order the settlements and the mouths of the principal tributaries as one advances up the river to the village of St. Louis. The latter contained at this time about twenty families. To New Orleans he naturally gave the largest space, making what is really a history of the beginnings of the city. In this connection he printed, as an appendix, an edict adopted by the council of the city in 1768 during a contest between the French inhabitants and the Spanish authorities. Pittman's maps, which have been used so frequently by writers and by other engineers, are reprinted in the present volume. The notes made for this edition while not voluminous are of decided value.

More than half a century after Pittman was describing the French villages in the fertile American Bottom of Illinois, another Englishman was picturing to his countrymen the attractions of the same lands as an inducement to migration. Fordham came to America with Birkbeck in 1817 when the latter attempted with George Flower to transplant a bit of old England to the Illinois Territory. The *Narrative* is made up of transcripts taken from the letters of Fordham and from a journal during his American trip, and "positively identified" as his work, although the names of the persons in England to whom the letters were addressed were not copied. The transcripts descended through Fordham's niece to her son, Dr. Spence, of Cleveland, Ohio, in whose hands they now are. They are here printed as originals.

Seven of the letters were written at various points on the inland journey from Virginia to southern Indiana and ten from the several places visited by Fordham in the region thereabouts. The journal was kept at the English settlements in Illinois during the winter of 1817 and 1818. The observations are chiefly on the quality of the soil, the variety of the trees, and the distinctive characteristics of the inhabitants. Fordham belongs to the class of writers such as Birkbeck, Flint, Fearon, Welby and others who journeyed along the Ohio River during the period

immediately following the War of 1812. He shared their antipathy to the system of slavery and abhorred with them the loose morals of many of the frontier settlers. But as the editor, Mr. Ogg, points out, he is less prejudiced than most of his fellow commentators, having no preconceived ideas and being no agent either for the encouragement or discouragement of immigration. "He represents the type of English emigrant all too rare, who appreciated to the full the manifold inconveniences and deprivations of a new country but yet had faith to believe that the difficulties were only temporary and that incessant industry was all that was needed to transform the crude backwoods settlements into flourishing and enlightened commonwealths." It might be added that Mr. Ogg's prefatory description of the westward movement during this period, showing the economic condition of both Old and New World under which Fordham made his tour and his observations, is as interesting as anything Fordham wrote. An excellent list of books is appended by the editor embracing contemporary descriptions of western travel.

The poisonous stings of mosquitos in the lowlands along the Ohio and the torturing thirst of the adjacent prairies were repeated in the experiences of another pioneer in the westward movement thirty years later and many hundred miles to the southwest. Of such labor was it to found a republic and to carry civilization across a continent. Audubon's narrative differs from the others in the extent of its scientific information and its observations on natural history. The son of the great naturalist, and reared to outdoor life and study as his father's helper, John W. Audubon was selected as scientific observer to accompany a large expedition sent out to the California gold-fields by some New York capitalists as a speculation. Owing to dissensions in the party and the abdication of the leader on the way, the command devolved upon Audubon, who conducted the company to Georgetown, California, above Sacramento. Here the *Journal* ends abruptly.

For various reasons, the route selected was that from Brazos, Texas, across Mexico and modern Arizona to southern California. On the Gila River the party struck the old Kearney trail to California, which had now become an emigrant route in the rush to the gold-fields. Scientifically, the expedition was worth little to Audubon. His material for preserving and mounting specimens was abandoned along the route as the pack-animals became exhausted from thirst and lack of forage. Likewise, the hardships of the way prevented such extended note-taking as the naturalist had in contemplation. The journal must therefore stand as an interesting and intelligent description of one route to El Dorado. Persons interested in early California history will find here some descriptions of the conditions in the early days really worth reading. The uncertainty of the gold search, the disappointment of the seekers, and the various methods employed in prosecuting the work are well described.

Nearly two hundred water-color sketches made on the journey were

lost at sea on the return trip. Of the few that were preserved, five are reproduced in the volume. Of these, a view of the city of San Francisco in 1850 is especially interesting. A map showing Audubon's route is added.

EDWIN E. SPARKS.

A Political History of the State of New York. By DEALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Two volumes, 1774-1832, 1833-1861; pp. x, 405; vi, 444.)

THIS work is almost the sole possessor of a very attractive field of study. Its only predecessor in the attempt to portray the whole panorama of political history in the state of New York is Jabez D. Hammond's old-fashioned and hopelessly inadequate work. Hammond's last volume, devoted to the biography of Silas Wright, does not quite reach the middle point of the nineteenth century. Our author interprets his title literally. Although the Revolution did not break the continuity of local party development, the political history of the colony of New York is ignored. To the closely balanced party strife during the initial stages of the Revolution he makes only a few confused and confusing allusions in his introductory chapter. John Lamb, probably the most influential of the four principal leaders of the Liberty party in the city, is not even named. Into the same oblivion has fallen William Mooney, the chief founder of the Tammany Society. With the second chapter the curtain rises at once upon the adoption of the constitution of 1777, and the inauguration of the first elected governor of the state upon the historic barrel in front of Kingston courthouse.

The author's plan of composition is indicated in these sentences from the preface to the first volume: "Indeed, the history of a State or Nation is largely the history of a few leading men, and it is of such men only, with some of their more prominent contemporaries, that the author has attempted to write. . . . Rarely more than two controlling spirits appear at a time, and, as these pass into apogee, younger men of approved capacity are ready to take their places."

This theory enables the author to follow rather closely in Hammond's track, although he avoids the dreary verbiage of the elder author, and makes good use of biographies and memoirs relating to the characters who sustain the constant duel in the centre of his stage. Three hundred and forty out of the four hundred and five pages in the first volume are devoted to the personal fortunes of the two Clintons on the one side, and to the long succession of their opponents on the other, Schuyler, Hamilton, Burr, the Livingston clan, Tompkins, Van Buren and the Albany Regency. The last fifty pages contain a rapid review of events from 1828 to 1834, setting the scenery for the next great duel between "two controlling spirits", Martin Van Buren and Thurlow Weed.

In the second volume the first seven chapters describe the leadership of Van Buren, Marcy, Wright and Croswell against the famous firm of Seward and Weed, to which Greeley was now to be added—and with

which Fillmore acted—down to Van Buren's overthrow in the Baltimore convention of 1844. Seven more chapters continue the same story down to 1854, and show how Van Buren and Seward each split his own party over the issue of Southern domination. Fifteen chapters are devoted to the fusion of various political elements into the Republican party, 1854–1861. This metamorphosis was more gradual in New York than in most states. The description of the transformation and of the corresponding re-alignments in the Democratic party shows the author at his best. His theory of the overwhelming importance of personality in history helps to enrich these pages with thoughtful analyses of the leadership on both sides, of Seward, Weed, Greeley, Raymond, Governors Morgan and Fenton, G. W. Curtis, D. D. Field, James S. Wadsworth and the Kings, and also of Horatio Seymour, Dean Richmond, John A. Dix, Greene C. Bronson, Amasa J. Parker, Fernando Wood and Daniel S. Dickinson.

In the preface the author promises a third volume that will bring the story down to 1896. As his second volume is much better written and more carefully studied than his first, we are disposed to look hopefully toward the third, which will deal with events in which the author has himself borne a share. He writes usually with clearness and force, although occasionally capable of freaks of phraseology that are either ludicrous or awkward. In the former case, witness the description of Hon. John Taylor (I. 196) who “moved around the Senate chamber, his tall spare form bending like a wind-swept tree”. In the latter case this extraordinary sentence about George Clinton may be cited (I. 197). “If he left behind him a memory of long service which had been lived to his own advantage, it was by no means lived to the disadvantage of his country or his State”.

The author seems to be unaware that recent revelations of the Clinton correspondence have revived the ancient accusation that George Clinton profited secretly by the sale of public lands. Certainly the man who would steal a governorship would not be likely to refuse an opportunity to share a public contract. The politics of New York city is, in these volumes, reduced to comparative insignificance. The author keeps his gaze fixed on the succession of executive officers at Albany. There is no coherent account of the development and influence of Tammany Hall. Strangest of all is the virtual elimination of Tammany from this account of the decade 1850–1860. Mozart Hall is named only in a foot-note, and although Fernando Wood himself is put under the microscope there is no attempt to analyze the political elements that, locally, supported or opposed him. Scant attention is given to any political force not proceeding directly from some “controlling spirit”, though Anti-Masonry, through its connection with Weed and Seward, fares better than Anti-Rent, or the Equal Rights (Locofoco) faction in the metropolis.

These volumes will have small value for the special student of New York politics, but they are capable of rendering a real service to the

general reader until the time when a more thorough and comprehensive study of this subject shall appear.

The Electoral System of the United States. By J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. iv, 425.)

MR. DOUGHERTY'S volume belongs to the class of books with a purpose. Its object is to show, by means of a detailed study of the workings, from the beginning, of the provisions of the Federal Constitution in regard to the election of President and Vice-president, the imperative need of amending those provisions; the author's views regarding the needed changes, indicated from time to time as the discussion proceeds, being embodied at the end in a carefully drawn and elaborate proposition of amendment. The work falls, accordingly, into two parts: one, a critical survey of the history of the electoral system, important for the student of politics and constitutional law; the other, a proposal of change which, however sensible or practicable, has primary interest for the statesman or political scientist rather than for the historian.

While we cannot but think that Mr. Dougherty's work would have profited by condensation, particularly in its summaries of the opinions of members of Congress, its historical merits are both sound and considerable. So far as he has gone, his work is not likely to need doing over again. Although the primary authorities are seldom directly cited, the text shows that the main reliance has been upon the journals and debates of Congress, with the occasional addition of the statutes and court decisions. Secondary authorities, save now and then a magazine article, are rarely referred to.

After a brief introduction setting forth the need of amending the electoral system, Mr. Dougherty proceeds at once to examine the electoral provisions of the Constitution, with the debates attending them, and the law of 1792 fixing the time and place for the meeting of the electors and providing for the presidential succession. Two succeeding chapters survey the problems which developed from 1793 to 1857 in connection with the electoral count—problems which showed an irreconcilable difference of opinion in Congress as to the seat of final authority in counting, but which were to wait yet thirty years for statutory treatment. The elections from 1860 to 1872 emphasized the danger involved in disputed or defective returns, and demonstrated that "either the Constitution had proven faulty or Congress had for years shirked its duty in failing to pass any general law to regulate the count" (p. 85). The great contest of 1876-1877 and the electoral count act of 1887 are treated at much length, more than a third of the volume being allotted to this part of the subject. Mr. Dougherty pronounces the much-praised act of 1887 a "quagmire" (p. 246), and the term is not too strong; for not only does the act assume to give to Congress an unwarranted power over the count, but it also fails to provide for the settlement of some of the

gravest questions which a presidential election might easily produce, *e.g.*, the choice of an ineligible elector. The historical discussion closes with two chapters, in some respects the most informing of all, on the historical development of the appointment of electors, the evils of the general-ticket system, and the amendments relative to the electoral system presented in Congress.

Mr. Dougherty has little difficulty in proving—if there were need of proving—that the electoral provisions of the Constitution are hopelessly antiquated, that existing laws are no bar to the recurrence of difficulties such as have already convulsed the nation, and that the only safety lies in a constitutional amendment. What he proposes is to abolish the electoral college altogether, and while continuing to allot electoral votes to each state on the same basis as at present, to divide the electoral votes among the several candidates in exact proportion to the total vote cast for each candidate in the state. The person receiving the highest number of electoral votes in all the states would become President. The provisions for the return and count of the votes, too elaborate even for summary here, aim to cover all possible disputes incident to a tie, leaving to each state the canvass of its own vote by designated officials, and requiring the authentication of the returns of the canvassers by the executive of the state. All controversies being thus left to the determination of the state, the count at Washington would be reduced to a mere enumeration, and a formal declaration of the result of the vote.

This is not the place to discuss at length the merits of Mr. Dougherty's plan. Apparently, it covers the principal conditions from which controversy has hitherto sprung, save that of dual returns from rival state governments: and here the author frankly admits its insufficiency. It goes far to give minority representation in the choice of President, though we doubt if the average voter, if he be in the minority, values his vote as highly as Mr. Dougherty seems to think he does. Lastly, the plan attacks the existing difficulty in the only right way, that of amending the Constitution. To amend the Constitution, however, is a serious matter. It is a striking commentary on political thinking in this country that Mr. Dougherty's book will probably receive from Congress or its members no consideration whatever. Only students and reformers will see in it a valuable contribution to the history of our electoral system, a clear and forcible exposure of dangerous political and constitutional defects which ought to be cured, and a sensible suggestion of remedy.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume II. *The Federalist System, 1789-1801.* By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xviii, 327.)

It would be much to ask from a writer on the administrations of Washington and John Adams a novel presentation of the facts or a new

judgment on the leading characters. There were no secret manoeuvres to describe, no dark or devious methods in public policy, in politics, or in foreign relations to be brought to light. The nature of the leaders made them open and expressive. Jefferson put upon paper his inmost thoughts, and wrote much more than was to the purpose. Hamilton has given the best possible exposition of his financial measures, and of his own ambitions or wishes in administration and political activity. No one ever justly brought against Washington or Adams a charge of concealment or of finesse. The acts of the twelve years of the Federalist régime are well known and the relations of the leaders well established. It only remained for a writer to present a point of view that may contain enough of personality to color the narrative of facts. In this Professor Bassett has been fairly successful. The space allowed was barely sufficient for the marshalling of the incidents, and some criticism might be made over the selection of those incidents. No two writers would give the same relative importance to what was to be told. Apart from that the writer has preserved a catholic spirit, never severe in condemnation or extravagant in praise, and thus the book reads well, and is a careful presentation of the course of Federalism. The style is clear, and the selection of authorities excellent. That it is a full history of the time no one can assert, for the limitations of space are very evident. Nor was it possible to characterize individuals, a matter of some importance when the policies in state affairs were so represented by a small number of persons of strong personality.

The government once organized, the public credit and the foreign commerce were the two leading subjects of legislation and diplomacy. The entire service of the three administrations may be said to have turned upon these two matters. The writer gives full credit to Hamilton's ability and keen political foresight in framing and defending his financial measures. Hardly enough credit is given to the great secretary in his sinking fund, which embodied the very sound principle that every creation of debt should be accompanied by the means of extinguishing it. The opposition of the South to Hamilton's acts is properly traced to an entirely different economic practice and basis of society. Gallatin was the one great master of finance among the Republicans, and his doctrine of economy offered a wholesome check to Hamilton's tendency to extravagance and state intervention. Hamilton's own venture into domestic manufactures under his own tariff is not mentioned. Professor Bassett writes as a protectionist, believing in Hamilton's wish to do away with the concentration of the people upon agriculture. The first tariff, he asserts, contained incidental protection, but did little to encourage manufactures. Yet his account of the rise of the cotton manufacture shows that the field was ready for industries without protection.

On the foreign relations Mr. Bassett retells the story of our entanglements with France and our rebuffs from England, on which almost nothing could be said outside of the accepted interpretation of the lead-

ing incidents. The errors of the French ministers to this country were offset by the errors of the British ministry in not securing the friendship of the United States by timely concessions. The intrigues on the western frontiers, the questions of impressments and boundaries, and the closure of the West Indies to our trade were grievances against England, in which Spain and France shared according to their interests. The effects of the Jay Treaty in France are well told, and the weakness of Monroe developed, though too much credit is given to his published defense, which had a small circulation and little effect. Gouverneur Morris was thrown out of usefulness by the overturn of the French aristocracy; but Monroe, a Democrat, could make himself only partially acceptable to the democracy in Paris. The negotiations with France under John Adams are related with a very fair appreciation of Adams's fine qualities and unshakable patriotism. The unfortunate and well-meaning Gerry bears his usual load of blame tempered by some deserved praise for good intentions.

On internal affairs the chapters on the "State of Society" and "Economic Conditions" sketch lightly the outline, leaving much for the reader to supply. Mr. Bassett emphasizes the "intensifying of distinctively American traits and a corresponding loss of cosmopolitanism". The material development first engaged the attention of the people, and the modification of political ideals and institutions in consequence has extended to the present day. He gives three "notable influences": the great impetus given to Democracy; a modified dependence upon English constitutional liberty; and the rise of American private law; and states that the most significant social movement of the period was the extension of the frontier (of settlement) beyond the mountains. It was this last that aided in the overthrow of Federalism and in the establishment of Democracy. The protest against the collection of taxes and the campaign documents known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were as significant as the intrigue with Spain and the great land speculations. The admission of new states and the preparation for receiving others from the western territory materially affected the centre of political power. Naturally Professor Bassett writes liberally of slavery and the slave-trade. His chapter on economic conditions is lightly written, more suggestive than satisfying.

It remains to speak of a few matters that could be corrected in a second edition. The tobacco trade with England could not take all the growth of Virginia and Maryland. The continental trade was of vastly greater importance, and the restrictions then placed upon the weed were more destructive of the interest than were the English duties. It was Thomson Callender who wrote for and against Jefferson. The betrayal of Hamilton's connection with Mrs. Reynolds was made by John Beckley, to whom Monroe had given the papers, knowing the use he would make of them. The visit of Chateaubriand might have received mention among the list of foreign notables. The local politics in some

of the states, as for example in Pennsylvania, should have received further attention, for they explained the waning of Federalism. Still, the book itself is so sanely written that it seems ungrateful to call attention to what are very small defects.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 12. *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811.* By EDWARD CHANNING, Professor of History, Harvard University. Volume 13. *The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819.* By KENDRICK CHARLES BABCOCK, President of the University of Arizona. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xii, 299; xvi, 339.)

THE two volumes under review are numbered 12 and 13, respectively, in the series of histories edited by Professor A. B. Hart under the title, *The American Nation*. Professor Channing's book covers the period from the inauguration of Jefferson to the outbreak of the War of 1812. He correctly holds that the earlier years of Madison's administration are to be regarded as a continuation of the Jeffersonian period. With the declaration of war on June 18, 1812, the "Jeffersonian system was at an end: a new epoch in the history of the American nation was begun."

This new epoch forms the period treated by President Babcock, which extends from the outbreak of the war to the complete nationalization of the Republican party, *i. e.*, from 1812 to 1819, although for purposes of introduction and conclusion the narrative is somewhat extended beyond these dates. The defects and advantages inherent in books written as portions of a serial publication need no enumeration here, although they are illustrated in the volumes before us. Suffice it to say that the authors have ably seconded the editor in reducing these defects to a minimum. The chief defect arising from the serial nature of the two volumes consists in a repetition of subject-matter already presented in an earlier number. That is, it is a defect from the standpoint of the reader who regards the books as volumes in a continued history, but a decided merit when each volume is considered as an independent monograph on the period it covers. Neither author gives more of the material contained in an earlier volume than is necessary for a clear understanding of the subject under discussion by one who has not read the preceding volume. Henry Adams's invaluable work covers all but the last two years of the period from 1801 to 1819, and each author freely uses the work and amply acknowledges his obligation to Mr. Adams. Both, however, preserve independence of judgment and do not hesitate to maintain conclusions at variance with those of Henry Adams. The authors, while in general following him, show a knowledge and use of the more important printed sources and evince skill and excellent judgment in handling them.

A rigid classification would demand that these volumes be assigned to the class of historical writings designed for the general reader rather than for the special student. The books are not and do not pretend to be distinct contributions to the historical scholar's knowledge of the period traversed; yet the sane and impartial judgment displayed and the admirable sense of proportion evinced, together with the clear grasp and scholarly exposition of the subjects treated, make each a work that the special student cannot afford to neglect. The critical essays on bibliography at the end of each volume are judicious and adequate and should prove of especial value to the teacher. Opinions might differ as to the judgment displayed in excluding or including particular titles, but some selection was necessary and on the whole the choice is well made and the valuation of authorities is sound and discriminating.

Professor Channing's *Jeffersonian System* begins with an excellent chapter upon the organization of Jefferson's administration. It is followed by one entitled "Republican Reformations", in which it is shown that the exigencies of the political situation prevented Jefferson from urging a thoroughgoing reform of Federalist methods. A narrow Republican margin in the Senate, an able minority in the House, overmatching the Republicans in debate, and factional divisions in Pennsylvania and New York compelled the President to look to New England for the votes necessary for maintaining his control of the government; but the political conversion of New England could not be won by measures of radical reform. Add to this the natural desire of the possessor of power to retain power and we have the reasons, as stated by the author, for the moderation shown by Jefferson in effecting reforms in harmony with his pre-election views. The ability of Gallatin as a finance minister is fully recognized and credit is given to him for making the Treasury Department "one of the most perfect organizations of a great financial machine which can be found anywhere in the world". A short and somewhat conventional narrative of the Tripolitan War is followed by three chapters upon the Louisiana Purchase, which, while perhaps laying too little emphasis on the constitutional aspects of the cession, give an account of the subject that is a model of historical exposition. These chapters, although containing little that can be called contributions to our knowledge of the subject, give the best short history of Jefferson's great achievement that the reviewer has ever read. Professor Channing follows Henry Adams in his treatment but does not concur in all of his conclusions. He dissents (p. 78) from the latter's opinion that Gen. Victor's instructions from the French government ordering him to take possession of Texas to the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) fully justified the American contention, that, in acquiring Louisiana, we also gained title to Texas. The author maintains that all legal and historical hypotheses fall to the ground in face of the fact that Napoleon sold to us what he had no legal right to convey and what he did not even possess and that "In taking Louisiana we were the accomplices of the greatest highway-

man of modern history and the goods which we received were those which he compelled his unwilling victim to disgorge." Jefferson's relations with West Florida follow so closely, both in historical and in chronological sequence, upon the Purchase of Louisiana that the interjection, before the chapter on West Florida, of four excellent, but essentially unrelated essays, upon the Lewis and Clark expedition, slavery and slave-trade, the Chase impeachment and the Yazoo claims, decidedly weakens the interest in the narrative and breaks its continuity. Professor Channing intimates that the Lewis and Clark expedition, which was planned before the acquisition of Louisiana, was designed by Jefferson to pave the way for a possible future seizure of the western country and believes that the consummation of the purchase came "in the nick of time to save Jefferson from violating the code of international ethics". The author declares the struggle over the Yazoo claims to have been "one of the most far-reaching in the political history of the United States". The account of the long struggle is interestingly given but the facts presented hardly convince the reader that the opinion quoted is not somewhat too pronounced. Sobriety of judgment is, however, a marked characteristic of the work as a whole. The author is much more inclined to present the Scotch verdict of *not proven* than to hazard an opinion not fully warranted by the facts. This is noticeably true in the history of the Burr conspiracy, in which, in a treatment commendably free from bias, perhaps the verdict reached is the only possible one, namely, that everything was too hazy and indefinite in the mind of Burr himself to justify positive conclusions.

The remaining chapters of the book deal with foreign relations, and with the domestic events occasioned by them, which led up to the war with England. With a sure and impartial hand the author reveals the intricacies of the struggle for and against neutral rights. The policy of commercial restriction, he states, was in part formulated by Madison and was as much his policy as Jefferson's. Professor Channing corrects both Adams and McMaster in the matter of the blockade maintained by English vessels, before the war, off the port of New York, and shows that the blockade was not such a continuous one as they suppose.

The editor of the *American Nation* series says, in his introduction to this volume, that "the personality of Jefferson is in many ways the dominant note in the period" from 1801 to 1811. The editor's colleague has an excellent English style, well adapted to historical narrative, yet he does not seem to possess the dramatic power that makes a personality live again in his pages. Due credit is given to Jefferson, but the reader is not made to *feel* that his was the dominating, guiding personality of the early Republican period.

The thesis implied in the title of the next volume in the *American Nation* series, *The Rise of American Nationality*, is admirably and convincingly sustained by its author, who displays decided literary skill in keeping this thesis constantly before the reader. The details of the nar-

rative, set forth in an exceptionally good English style, are never allowed to obscure, but rather emphasize, the central idea of the work. The standard of literary merit is not only high but so well sustained that a badly constituted sentence, such as the one which begins chapter XVI., stands out in marked contrast.

President Babcock begins his history with an account of the factions present in the Republican party just before the war, and ascribes to these divisions in the majority party the responsibility for the extremely important failure to recharter the United States Bank. The defeat of the bank bill, the culmination of a long series of rebuffs, marked, he says, the triumph of faction and the final refusal of the Republicans in Congress to recognize the President and cabinet as their real leaders. Dr. Babcock considers Madison lacking in the essential qualities of executive leadership, but does not stop with negative defects; he places full responsibility for the appointment of incompetents, both in the cabinet and in the army, squarely upon the President, and he severely criticizes Madison for his seizures of West and East Florida as justifiable neither from the standpoint of fair-dealing nor from that of international ethics. The history of the events leading up to the war is well told, although much of it is simply a review of Professor Channing's chapters on the same period. One-half of the book is devoted to the War of 1812, the political history of which is a highly creditable production, save that the treatment of war finances is not sufficiently exhaustive. Military history, however, is not so clearly the author's forte. It is deficient in the matter of proportion, as, for example, the description of the Chesapeake campaign, excellent in itself, occupies twice as much space as the entire account of the much more important naval warfare upon the Great Lakes; and in ability to render the narrative of battles and campaigns thoroughly intelligible. Strong and vigorous English is not spared in denouncing the disgraceful management of the struggles on the Canadian borders, and the author regards the conduct of the war throughout as weak and inefficient. Well-merited emphasis is placed upon the importance of the Indian campaigns of the west and southwest both as factors in the English war and as preparation for the great movement of westward expansion which followed the close of the war. He asserts that the Indian wars cost the nation almost as much in lives, money, and suffering as did the actual warfare against the British.

Perhaps the best chapter in the book is the one which deals with the Federalist opposition in New England. While little that is new is added, the facts are so clearly stated and the evidence is so convincingly arrayed that the nature of the war as one of faction and section is fully established and the gravity of the crisis caused by New England's hostility is completely proved. Grave as was the situation, the facts suggest but do not warrant the author's conclusion, that, with New England commissioners in Washington for the purpose of treating with the federal government, the overthrow of the national government and the

establishment of a New England Confederacy, possibly allied with England, "would seem to have been inevitable" had news of the failure of Jackson at New Orleans or of the peace negotiations at Ghent been received. Dr. Babcock underestimates the strength of the war party in New England and apparently forgets that Massachusetts furnished more recruits for the war than any other state. An error (p. 165) is noted in the account of the Hartford Convention. The commissioners to Washington are stated to have been appointed by the Hartford Convention; as a matter of fact they were sent by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut as representatives of those states.

In the remaining third of the volume President Babcock ably describes the manifestations of the new spirit of nationality, which the war evoked, in the chartering of the second bank, in the adoption of a policy of tariff and internal improvements, in the westward expansion, in the aggressive foreign policy which brought Florida under the American flag and finally in the formulation of the law of Nationalism in the great decisions of the Supreme Court delivered by Marshall or by associates inspired by him. Slight defects, only, mar the high character of this part of the book; the chapter dealing with the acquisition of Florida being exceptionally good.

Considering the limitations imposed by the nature of the task assigned to them, the credit of fully maintaining the high standard set in the preceding volumes of the *American Nation* series and of closely approximating the ideal standard for works of this class must be accorded both to Professor Channing and to President Babcock.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 14. *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829.* By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xviii, 366.)

THE book is written in an attractive style in which few errors of literary taste occur and is pleasing in appearance, like the others in the series. The text seems free from mistakes; but the foot-notes contain some which are troublesome. The frontispiece is a reproduction "from the original life-mask" of Clay by Browere. There are nine outline maps illustrative of the text.

An introductory chapter on the competing national and sectional tendencies of American life in the decade under review is followed by three chapters in which the characteristic sectional traits and differences of New England, the Middle States, and the South respectively are set forth with much cleverness and discrimination; and it is pointed out frankly that the several sections are not entirely homogeneous in respect of even the traits that are considered most characteristic. There are

four more chapters of a similar nature on the West, including the "Far West", during this decade: its colonization, its economic and social development, its commerce and ideals. Then come eleven chapters on the familiar topics of this period. The usual bibliographical chapter and the index conclude the volume—which altogether contains somewhat less material than either Schouler or McMaster has written on the same period.

Our author has left out much that others have said. But there is something in every chapter which makes it worth the time and effort to read. The new contribution may appear in the nature of new facts, oftener perhaps in some discerning observation upon the passing events, most often in points of broad view or depths of insight that show his mastery of the subject-matter which he treats.

The chapter on the Monroe Doctrine is typical of many passages in the book. The nature of the subject, the relation of this volume to the series, the limitations of space and of period compel the author to summarize the incidents and produce his literary and historical effects in a few bold strokes. The foot-notes refer to several preceding volumes in the series and to important sources; but chiefly to eight or ten studies, easily accessible, many of them by Professor Turner himself, in which the points stated in the text with judicial succinctness have been worked out in detail.

In other chapters the contrary method is pursued. The chapter on the election of Adams adds much to our lively appreciation of that struggle; and the result is secured by the author's wise-selection and skillful narration of many details, showing by what accidents Clay failed to crowd Crawford out of the third place and how the election of Adams still hung in the balance even after the adhesion of Clay to his interests.

Still another method of treatment is illustrated in the chapter on "Party Politics, 1820-1822". The situation is presented to the mind of the reader by canvassing the candidates for the presidency which each section had to offer. "All these candidates and the dominant element in every section professed the doctrines of republicanism; but what were the orthodox tenets of republicanism . . . ? . . . Different candidates and different sections gave conflicting answers" (p. 191). Similarly in the chapter on the Missouri Compromise the great speeches of Clay, King, and Pinkney serve as the central points about which other incidents and facts are massed in order to tell much in few words.

Each volume of the series has an independent title and lays claim to some degree of individuality. Professor Turner's volume is on the "Rise of the West". But it is also plain "Volume 14" and it is this place next to the last in the third group of the series, on the "Development of the Nation", which gives it most of its important limitations. Frequently the author has to reach far back into the periods treated in other volumes to catch up the threads of a story that only reaches its climax in the period assigned to him; and he ends with apparent abrupt-

ness with the *South Carolina Exposition*, while a half-dozen questions, among them this sectional defiance by the South, are pending. The writer of the next volume must reach back a long, long distance to gather up the threads of the bank and nullification controversies; and must extract the essence of whole sections of Professor Turner's book for the introduction to his own.

So it would not be just to treat the *Rise of the West* as a monograph. If it really pretended to be such it would be exposed to severe criticism for lack of unity and proportion. Very rarely has the author failed to preserve the proportions which the subject under treatment holds to the series. Once, but perhaps only once seriously, has the author erred by straining the facts so as to connect the chapter on the Missouri Compromise to the subtitle more closely than is due by saying in the last paragraph, here quoted in full, that "The slavery struggle derived its national significance from the West, into which expanding sections carried warring institutions" (p. 171; cf. pp. 149 and 186).

The justification of the subtitle and of the developing thought of the book are both more discriminatingly and profoundly expressed in another line of thought. "Beginning with nationalism", a nationalism, however, in which abiding sectional dissimilarities prevent the growth of complete homogeneity, "beginning with nationalism, the period ends with sectionalism" (p. 330), a sectionalism, exemplified in the tariff for protection and the *South Carolina Exposition*, which is a struggle of section against section for the perpetuation of sectional peculiarities. But "one profound change, not easy to depict except by its results", is manifest in "the formation of the self-conscious American democracy, strongest in the West and middle region, but running across all sections and tending to divide the people on the lines of social classes" (p. 9), a democracy whose typical hero is Andrew Jackson.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 15. *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837.* By WILLIAM MACDONALD. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xiv, 345.)

THE author's purpose is to show how, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, our democracy formulated a new and definite creed of political principles, and how that creed was personified in Andrew Jackson. Professor MacDonald attempts to depict the movement as a whole rather than the unique central figure; nevertheless that figure inevitably holds the vision.

Two brief introductory chapters summarize the social and political conditions which brought Andrew Jackson to the threshold of the presidency in 1828. These chapters necessarily review some of the more extended studies in the volumes immediately preceding this one in the series, Turner's *Rise of the New West* and Babcock's *Rise of American*

Nationality. This initial analysis introduces the successful candidate of 1828, the first Allegheny mountaineer to take his seat in the White House, as a typical frontiersman, with all the characteristic virtues and vices of that mountain people, impulsive, affectionate, quarrelsome, uneducated yet not ignorant, masterful, and impatient of theoretical restraints. Says our author, "Of all the men whom the winds and currents of American life had thus far thrown to the surface, none had less respect for the past, less breadth of culture or personal experience, less self-restraint than Andrew Jackson."

Before Jackson became an object of political idolatry and sniffed the incense of popular adulation with increasing zest, if we may believe a story in Parton's life of him (still the most interesting biography of "Old Hickory"), he was himself in substantial agreement with the opinion quoted above. "Do they suppose", said he, "that I am such a damned fool as to think myself fit for President of the United States? No, sir! I know what I am fit for. I can command a body of men in a rough way; but I am not fit to be President."

The first chapter in this volume that begins the specific discussion of Jacksonian Democracy (chap. iv.) is appropriately devoted to the spoils system in the national civil service. Two chapters (vii., xiii.) tell the story of the destruction of the Bank of the United States and the removal of the deposits. One chapter to each topic tells (xviii.) how the development of roads and canals at federal expense was checked, (x.) how the Indian tribes were removed across the Mississippi, (xii.) how the pending controversies with England concerning the West India trade and with France and a company of smaller nations were all favorably settled, and finally (xi., xvii.) how Calhoun was thrown overboard and Martin Van Buren was placed in command of the Democratic ship of state by the iron will of this iron man. These events, together with the payment of the public debt, were the great triumphs of Jackson's administration.

Three chapters (v., vi., ix.) are devoted to the tariff and nullification controversy, out of which Jackson derived much personal credit, but which was unfortunately a drawn battle and no triumph. In two chapters (xiv., xvi.) there is an examination of what may be called the failures of Jackson's administration, such as his efforts to make the President ineligible for re-election, to secure a constitutional amendment, providing for the election of President and Vice-president by popular vote, to bestow a sensible plan of government upon the District of Columbia (which was not done until 1871), and, finally, his attempt to require the payment of specie for the purchase of public lands, which brought on the panic of 1837.

Chapter xv. reviews the internal history of the states during these eight years, with especial reference to constitutional changes and political affiliations. The prominence of the New York leaders is recognized, but perhaps the importance of the Equal Rights faction as an element

in Northern Jacksonian Democracy is not sufficiently emphasized. It is possible that the author has practised too much self-denial in dealing with the element of personality. Jacksonian Democracy was bound together by individual influence, and, while Jackson himself can scarcely fail to receive full consideration, his inner circle of advisers, and especially Van Buren, have not always been so fortunate.

The text concludes with a rapid but thoughtful and satisfactory criticism of Jackson as a party leader. A final chapter on authorities presents a selected list of references in a rather disorderly arrangement, with some critical notes. There are eight good maps, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, and an index, which seems in general sufficient, though it may be noted that Francis P. Blair's name does not appear in it and that Ambrister becomes "Ambuster".

The most striking omission in the volume is the absence of any discussion of the slavery question in reference to Jacksonian Democracy. This omission is made necessary by the plan of the series, which surrenders the subject "Slavery and Abolition" to the next volume (16). Such a reservation, however advantageous for the series, necessarily makes this volume incomplete as a study of its announced subject. The author does, however, venture to show how Jackson sympathized with and aided the movement for the annexation of Texas.

Professor MacDonald's contribution is, thus far, the best concise and brief essay upon Jackson's two administrations. It is not so complete and illuminating as Professor Sumner's biography of Jackson in the "American Statesmen" series, but the present volume does not claim to be a biography. For a gallery of portrait-sketches of the men of Jackson's circle and era, one may resort to the more leisurely page of Peck's *Jacksonian Epoch*, and for Jackson himself to Parton, or to John Fiske's brilliant essays, but for a lucid and temperate statement of all but one of the dominant questions during Jackson's presidency, Professor MacDonald's volume is adequate.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Lincoln, Master of Men. By ALONZO ROTHSCHILD. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. 531.)

IN view of all that has been written about Abraham Lincoln, an accession in the shape of a volume of four hundred pages may reasonably be asked to justify its existence. Readers of the REVIEW will insist upon knowing at the outset, whether the author has had access to hitherto unpublished material; or failing this, whether he has essayed a fresh interpretation of the career and character of the great man who has become the subject of a cycle of traditions. The first query must be met with a negative. Nowhere in the text, or in the copious notes, is there any evidence that Mr. Rothschild has used other than well-known authorities. As an interpretative study, the book has to do rather with a phase of Lincoln's character than with the whole man.

On the somewhat slender thread of what is termed Lincoln's mastery over men, has been strung an entertaining series of anecdotes and stories relating to his encounters with successive rivals. The Little Giant, Seward as the power behind the throne, Chase as the indispensable man, Stanton, Frémont, and finally McClellan as the Young Napoleon, are pitted in turn against the hero, only to be discomfited by this master of men.

This method of writing biography is exposed to peculiar hazards. Where the personal element is allowed to obtrude to this extent, there is always danger that the individual will be isolated from his world and made to act as though propelled by his own independent volition. It is easy to mistake for a personal antagonism what is really an opposition bottomed on quite different motives. The temptation is to treat the clash of wills as altogether volitional, prompted by jealousy, envy, resentment, and what not. Coincidentally comes the tendency to exalt the hero by belittling his opponents. Mr. Rothschild has not escaped these pitfalls, though his portraiture of Lincoln is fairly successful.

The account of Lincoln's career in Illinois is least satisfactory, though for that matter most biographers from Nicolay and Hay down have allowed their treatment of his early life to be colored by the memory of his bearing in the great crisis. It is somewhat extraordinary that nearly all should trust to Herndon and to the columns of the *Sangamon Journal* for accounts of Lincoln's early encounters with Douglas, when this is so clearly *ex parte* evidence. Both Herndon and Lincoln contributed freely to the editorial columns of the *Journal*, which was a strongly partizan paper. The corrective should be sought, of course, in contemporary opinion as reflected in the *State Register*, the rival newspaper of Springfield.

That Douglas should be systematically berated, and underrated, in these pages, was to be expected. The author quite naturally chose the conventional treatment of Lincoln's opponent. Doubtful statements abound. We are told that in the great contest of 1858 the aid of prominent Republicans throughout the country brought Douglas as many votes as Buchanan took (p. 110); that the single favorable letter of Senator Crittenden of Kentucky "turned the wavering scale in enough districts to ensure the election of Douglas" (*ibid.*); that after the debates Douglas hurried south "with speeches that commended slavery" (p. 117); that Popular Sovereignty and the Freeport Doctrine were "twin nostrums of an unscrupulous political quack" (p. 119); and that after the election of 1860 Douglas ceased to be a vital factor in political calculations (*ibid.*). It would be a difficult task to substantiate these assertions. Mr. Rothschild does not attempt to do so. Is it quite fair to picture Douglas as the discomfited rival, "humbly holding the victor's hat", at Lincoln's inauguration, when the authority from whom Mr. Rothschild borrows the incident adds the further touch "he [Douglas] told me that he meant to put himself as prominently forward in the

ceremonies as he properly could, and to leave no doubt on any one's mind of his determination to stand by the new administration in the performance of its first great duty to maintain the Union"?

Seward fares somewhat better at the hands of Lincoln's biographer. But the same fault is in evidence. By selecting only what suits his purpose the author often leaves an unfair impression. After the first four weeks in office, we are informed, Seward knew Lincoln to be his master. "When his inclinations and purposes conflicted with those of his chief, he gave way,—nay, more, he put forth all his powers to carry out Mr. Lincoln's wishes" (p. 150). How complete this submission was, is then illustrated by "a few well-known incidents". But Mr. Rothschild omits to mention the Trent affair, when Seward contended for the return of the Confederate commissioners against the President and a majority of the cabinet, and finally brought both over to his way of thinking.

Scant justice is done to "the indispensable man" whom Lincoln chose as his Secretary of the Treasury. The key to the personal antagonism in this instance is found in the abiding resentment cherished by Chase at Lincoln's nomination in the Chicago convention (p. 182). Earlier Mr. Rothschild assured us that "none of his rivals for the nomination had given more loyal support" than Chase (p. 160). We doubt seriously whether Chase is understood when he is described as the "Ches-terfield of the Cabinet" (p. 185).

The hazards in the path of the anecdotal historian are well illustrated by the story of the ignorant young lawyer (p. 421). Mr. Rothschild, following Arnold—and his own literary instinct—has made Lincoln apply his "little story" to McClellan; but as originally told by Holland (*Life of Lincoln*, pp. 370-371) it had no such application. We mistrust that many Lincoln stories have undergone a similar metamorphosis.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

MINOR NOTICES

Readings in European History. A Collection of Extracts from the Sources chosen with the purpose of illustrating the Progress of Culture in Western Europe since the German Invasions. By Professor James Harvey Robinson. Abridged Edition. (Boston, Ginn and Co., 1906, pp. xxxiv, 573.) In this abridged edition of Professor Robinson's excellent source-book, the two volumes of the fuller edition have been compressed into one by the omission of many extracts or, in a few cases, of parts of extracts, and by the excision of the portions of the bibliographies intended for advanced students. The work of condensation has been carefully and judiciously performed, apparently with special reference to the requirements of pupils of high-school grade, since many of the more difficult texts and official documents and formulae are excluded, while more readily intelligible passages are retained. The book is so admirably adapted to its purpose of aiding the imagination and rendering

more vivid the history of Europe from the period of the German Invasions that it is gratifying to have it in a form in which it will find its way into the hands of many pupils who would not otherwise have known it. The two-volume edition should however be used wherever practicable; it remains indispensable to the teacher and is greatly to be preferred for college work.

F. G. D.

The appearance of the third volume of the *Rôles Gascons* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906, pp. cc, 792) in the *Collection de Documents Inédits* completes the task on which Professor Charles Bémont has been so long engaged. The work was committed to his hands in 1891, the first volume, covering the reign of Henry I., having been published in 1885 by M. Francisque Michel. In 1896 appeared a supplement to this volume by M. Bémont containing numerous additions and corrections to the texts already published, and valuable chapters on the history and administration of Gascony during this period. The second volume bears the date of 1900, and contains the texts of Edward I.'s reign to 1290. Volume III. completes the reign, and opens with a long introduction rendering the same important service to the student of this period that the supplement to volume I. performs for the reign of Henry III. It is divided into three chapters; the first is descriptive of the material on which the text is based and gives an itinerary of Edward I. in France; the second is on the administration, and includes a list of the seneschals of Gascony and of the constables of Bordeaux, with many biographical and other details and many documents; the third is on the war between England and France from 1294 to 1303, and is especially valuable. As to the beginning of the war, M. Bémont finds himself in accord with the more recent French opinion of the bad faith of Philip IV. The chapter is chiefly devoted to the make-up of the English army, which is analyzed in detail, and to the financial side of the war, and much new material is published from the accounts in the Public Record Office. An especially noticeable feature in the editing of the texts is the careful identification of the names of persons and places, and M. Bémont's editorial work in general is fully on the level of the best in the great collection to which these volumes belong.

The Teutonic Order and Its Secularization: A Study in the Protestant Revolt. [University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History, Vol. III., No. 2.] By Professor Harry Grant Plum. (Published by the University, Iowa City, Iowa, 1906, pp. 88.) This is a clear and interesting account of the organization of the Teutonic Order and its establishment in Prussia; the government of the Order and its lands; the organization of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights; the struggle with Poland; the development of the Reformation in Prussia and the secularization of Prussia. Many of the most important primary and secondary sources have been used and are indicated in the foot-notes and

in the final bibliography. The author shows that after the Order had fulfilled its mission of military aggression and defense, it adopted an economic policy that injured the cities over which it ruled, and by causing internal dissensions weakened the Order in its struggle with Poland. The latter half of the paper deals with the two-fold policy of Albert, Grand Master in the early sixteenth century, who aimed at reforming the Order and freeing it from Polish control. The secularizing of the lands of the Order is accounted for as being the method that Albert adopted to attain his political purposes.

F. G. D.

The English Craft Gilds and the Government. An Examination of the accepted theory regarding the Decay of the Craft Gilds. By Stella Kramer. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Vol. XXIII., Number 4.] (New York, Columbia University Press, New York, 1905, pp. 152.) After a brief and somewhat inadequate introduction, surveying the decay of the gild merchant and the rise of the craft gild, Miss Kramer examines in four chapters the policy of the English government toward the craft gilds from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. A concluding fifth chapter entitled, rather too pretentiously, "English Economic Policy in the Middle Ages", emphasizes chiefly the subordination of the craft gilds to the municipality and the state. The more valuable part of the monograph is the analysis of the acts from 1437 to 1563. In these Miss Kramer finds no sufficient evidence to support the view, held by some writers, of a settled government policy antagonistic to the craft gilds.

The author has used her own eyes to read the statutes and though there are occasional slips she has on the whole judiciously interpreted the national legislation and such of the contemporary local and gild ordinances as she has used. Within her limited and well-chosen field she has done a useful piece of work and she is to be welcomed among the students, still too few, of English craft-gild history. It must be added, however, that in knowledge of the literature Miss Kramer shows some regrettable deficiencies.

EDWIN F. GAY.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France. XVI^e Siècle (1494-1610). Par Henri Hauser, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. I. *Les Premières Guerres d'Italie: Charles VIII. et Louis XII. (1494-1515).* (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1906, pp. xx, 197.) "Ce n'est pas sans une réelle appréhension que j'avais accepté l'offre très honorable qui m'était faite de préparer, pour le XVI^e siècle, la suite de ces *Sources de l'Histoire de France*, si brillamment et si solidement étudiées, en ce qui concerne le Moyen Âge, par Auguste Molinier. Le voisinage d'un tel maître, rompu depuis si longtemps aux travaux critiques, était fait pour effrayer les moins timides."

It is thus, in a modest preface, that M. Hauser explains his presence among the Olympians. Modesty may induce him to depreciate what he has done, but he has no other reason for so doing. Indeed, he may be proud of the work here accomplished. There are grave difficulties attached to a bibliographical study of French history between 1483 and 1515. The period falls between two stools. Potthast and Chevalier both come to an end and there is a great lack of previous critical work in this field. Moreover in the transition from the Italian to the French Renaissance history and literature run together. Commynes and Machiavelli are men of letters as well as historians; the same is true of Brantôme. But the question is a relative one in another way. Brantôme is a direct source for the history of the civil wars in France; yet he cannot be wholly excluded for the history of the Italian wars, since his information thereon was gathered from actual participants and eye-witnesses. This is the case also with De Thou in the subsequent generation, who was born in 1553, yet began his great history with the year 1546, learning much of what he wrote from his father and his father's friends. But there are other difficulties still attending bibliographical research in this period of history which do not characterize the historiography of the Middle Age. Diplomacy becomes a science, and the records thereof are beginning to become a primary historical source. Printing adds a new historical source (as M. Hauser indicates in a most interesting way in section 3) and magnifies the volume of all the others.

The reviewer has little to add and nothing to subtract from the work here done, for it seems to have been most thoroughly accomplished. The *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, is much beyond 1594, which is stated in section 89 to be its present terminal point. There are two typographical errors not noticed in the Errata. On p. 105 the proper name Gough is misspelled, and on p. 165 XIV^e is obviously a misprint for XVI^e.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Briefe an Erasmus aus einem Bresslauer Codex. Edited by L. K. Enthoven. (Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz, 1906, pp. xiv, 223.) Professor Enthoven of Strassburg publishes a valuable addition to Erasmusian literature in the form of one hundred and sixty-three letters addressed to the great Humanist by nearly as many correspondents. These letters form together a codex of the town library of Bresslau. They were known and used by Adalbert Horawitz, the lamented Erasmusian scholar, whose early death disappointed so many just expectations in this field. Moreover, other scholars have made occasional extracts from them, and at least sixty-six have already been published by various editors. The actually new contribution of the present edition reduces itself, therefore, to about one hundred numbers, but a careful comparison has been made in the case of the letters already published, and a very considerable service has been rendered in making the reading of obscure passages more intel-

ligible. Textual criticisms and explanations appear in foot-notes. Extended comments are placed in an appendix. Among the correspondents are some of the most interesting persons of the day, such *e. g.* as Margaret Roper, Stephen Gardiner, Duke George of Saxony, Boniface Amerbach, Conrad and Margaret Pentinger; but the great majority are distinctly among the lesser names of the humanistic circles.

E. EMERTON.

Studies in Constitutional History, by James O. Pierce (Minneapolis, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1906, pp. 330), is composed in considerable measure of a series of lectures and book-reviews. The topics discussed are in the field of American constitutional history. The lectures or addresses are pitched in a somewhat exalted key and are calculated to stimulate patriotism and extol the progress of America. It cannot justly be said that any of the studies add anything to the well-known facts or disclose any remarkable skill in analysis or interpretation. Those that are directed to prove the nationality of the American people before the Civil War are not without force, but this subject has been gone over after this manner so many times that nothing of originality can be said, and the author, as is customary, fails to see the fundamental differences in the use of terms which have befogged discussion for generations; he fails to see the elementary philosophic principles in which men have differed without knowing why. To discuss such subjects without a strict definition of terms, without a clear recognition of the basic principles of political philosophy, is a waste of time—if one wishes to add anything new or to convince those not already assured of their opinions.

Judge Pierce has not always been careful in the use of authorities. If he relies for example on Cobb's *Rise of Religious Liberty*, what are the chances that he will not fall into blunders (*cf.* p. 124)? The statements concerning Maryland's religious history on page 113 are misleading, not to say absolutely wrong. The author accepts at the full the old notion that the migration of the people to Connecticut was caused by distinct religious differences—"by way of protest against" the Massachusetts "form of church establishment" (p. 106). Surely we should be told that at the best there is only some reason for thinking that dissatisfaction with the political and religious régime of the older colony may have entered into the motives of Hooker and his followers; more than this is surmise. The author apparently cites Gerry as favoring the adoption of the Federal Constitution (p. 148). "1778" on page 149 should read 1788. The treatment of the origin of the New England town again is an evidence of a lack of familiarity with local records or the best secondary treatises. "An entire church organization emigrating in a body, established itself as a township in the new world in a selected territory, the government of which was vested in the members of the church congregation."

On the whole we must conclude that the volume has no peculiar

interest and makes no special appeal to the specialist, the student, or the general reader. The reviews and addresses, on the whole well adapted for their purposes, do not make an indispensable volume for the library.

Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes á la Historia de América. Volumes 5 and 6. *Relación de los Naufragios y Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca.* Edited by M. Serrano y Sanz. (Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1906, pp. xxx, 388; xii, 428.) This edition of Cabeza de Vaca's writings and deeds first makes easily accessible the language in which they were written, for so scarce are the original editions of 1542 (the *Naufragios* alone) and 1555 (the *Naufragios* and *Comentarios*) that but few have had access to them. The importance and interest of these narratives are evidenced by the translations and adaptations (most of them faulty in one or more particulars) that have appeared, in whole or in part, in English and other languages, since almost the first appearance of the works until the present day. The accompanying unpublished documents, which are found in volume 6, relate entirely to the *Comentarios*, i. e., to Cabeza de Vaca's life in the ancient Spanish South American province of Rio de la Plata. These documents are as follows: General relation by Cabeza de Vaca of his deeds in the province of Rio de la Plata, presented to the council of the Indies; two documents containing evidence in regard to the trial of Cabeza de Vaca held in Spain upon his recall from Rio de la Plata; an investigation made at the request of Cabeza de Vaca for the same trial; a relation written by Pero Hernández in 1545 in regard to the events of Rio de la Plata (this Pero Hernández being the same one who wrote the *Comentarios*, probably at Cabeza de Vaca's direction)—published in volume II. of *Pequeña Biblioteca Histórica* (Asuncion del Paraguay, 1895); a relation by Domingo Martínez de Yrala (the great opponent of Cabeza de Vaca), 1541; and a letter by the same of 1545. The text of the *Naufragios* and *Comentarios* is a reprint of the 1555 edition; in the preparation of the same, the editor has corrected many typographical errors, and inserted punctuation and capitalization not in the original. It is to be regretted that he did not reprint the former work from the edition of 1542, with perhaps readings from the edition of 1555 where the two editions differ (a serious variant being the date when Cabeza de Vaca left the Spanish port for the American continent). The *Naufragios* is naturally of the greatest interest to North Americans, and no documents are given in illustration of it (except extracts in the preface to volume 5), the Spanish editor seeming to consider rather a Spanish and South American than a North American audience. The reprint appears trustworthy. The bibliographical notes are inadequate, and serve rather for suggestions than for thorough knowledge. The books are edited with scarcely a note other than the bibliographical, and there are no maps or other illustrations. There is an apparent lack of true historical criticism, in which Spanish historical workers are often wanting. Volume 6 con-

tains indexes of persons and places mentioned in the two volumes, but no attempt at a general index. The chief value of the work consists in the original text, by which the student may assure himself of the accuracy of the various translations that have been published.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

An Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company of London, with a Bibliographical List of the Extant Documents. By Miss Susan M. Kingsbury. Published by the Library of Congress (Washington, 1905 [1906], pp. 214). The Library of Congress has long possessed a contemporary copy, in two manuscript volumes, of the official records of the meetings of the Virginia Company from April 28, 1619, to June 7, 1624, the period of the Sandys-Southampton administration. Many plans have been made for the printing of these invaluable memorials of the early days of our first colony, but only portions have been published, and these not in a satisfactory manner. Finally the library itself resolved upon a worthy, indeed a monumental edition, and fortunately entrusted the task to Miss Kingsbury. She has spared no pains in its execution. Not contenting herself with the main record and the numerous subsidiary documents of Company days already possessed by the library or preserved elsewhere in America, she has with remarkable energy and thoroughness ransacked all England for additional material. The harvest which she has obtained, for instance among the papers of judicial courts, among the Manchester papers, and especially among the Ferrar papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge, can be better estimated when the Library of Congress has printed her documents. Several hundred, many of them quite unknown heretofore, are noted for such printing in connection with the "court-books". The publication before us presents in advance, in handsome quarto form, the editor's introduction. In a hundred pages she describes, with elaborate care, the extant documentary materials for the history of the Virginia Company, the bearing which various classes of them have on that history, and the successful efforts she has made to increase their number. There can be no question of the great debt which students owe her for the interesting labors here described. Her general remarks on the development of the Company and its career are less valuable, partly because not expressed in a clear style. Pages 118-205 are occupied with a catalogue of documents ("records" in Miss Kingsbury's phrase), embracing all those of date between 1616 and 1625 which have come to her knowledge and also all those of earlier date which have not been printed or cited in Brown's *Genesis*. This catalogue is extremely well executed. Less satisfactory in respect to form is the list of authorities with which the introduction closes. Scholars will eagerly look for the volumes of text which are to follow. No portion of the general commemoration next spring of the founding of Virginia will be more worthy of that great event than the issue of these scholarly and stately volumes.

Mr. Nelson P. Mead's *Connecticut as a Corporate Colony* (printed at Lancaster, New Era Press, pp. x, 119) is a Columbia University dissertation, constructed upon the same well-known formula as those of Messrs. Shepherd, Mereness, Smith, Raper, and Spencer on Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, and New York respectively. Connecticut institutions have been so much studied heretofore that Mr. Mead, careful and thorough as he has been, makes no very signal contribution to knowledge, unless in the chapter on military institutions. Perhaps the most striking statement in the book is that (pp. 20, 21) "In fact the Charter was no more 'fundamental' than was the original constitution. Its provisions were changed or modified by the General Court with the same freedom as had been done with the 'Fundamental Orders'." There is a lack of shading in such a frank acceptance of colonial public opinion as necessarily decisive. Surely *Winthrop vs. Lechmere* and *Clark vs. Tousey* show that such doctrines were by no means accepted as law by certain authorities to whom history may properly listen.

Constitutional Conflict in Provincial Massachusetts. By Henry Russell Spencer. (Columbus, Ohio: Fred. J. Heer, 1905, pp. 134.) This monograph is a useful addition to the now familiar Columbia studies of provincial government in the Anglo-American colonies. Massachusetts brought to the provincial relation the independent traditions and peculiar ideals of the old "Colony" government, and Mr. Spencer describes effectively the conflicts and compromises by which the province reached a kind of rough adjustment between "imperial" and "commonwealth" ideals. Nevertheless, the reader who is already familiar with the earlier studies of this group must be struck with a certain sameness in the plot. This is no fault of the writer's; it means simply, that, in the purely constitutional experience of, let us say, Massachusetts and South Carolina after they had once been organized as royal provinces, the resemblances are more important than the differences. There was the same conflict between the "prerogative bodies" and the "popular house"; and for both the vital issue, in one form or another, was the control of the purse.

Without attempting a complete description of the constitutional system, Mr. Spencer limits himself closely to the conflicts between the governor and the house of representatives on distinctly constitutional issues, covering, roughly, the first fifty years of the provincial period. He selects for emphasis the salary question, the control of the treasury, and the control of military and diplomatic affairs. Without containing much that is strikingly novel to the student of provincial institutions, this essay may be commended as a scholarly and really readable treatment of a subject not easily made interesting. It gives us the most satisfactory account we have of the Massachusetts government during the first third of the eighteenth century.

The bibliographical apparatus is defective; but the writer appears to have used diligently the official records, both printed and manuscript, including the commissions and instructions to royal governors, in process of publication by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. For important parts of the colonial correspondence, the author acknowledges, as so many others must do, his obligations to the veteran Palfrey. The unofficial records seem to have been less thoroughly exploited.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Volumes V. and VI. of the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York* (published by the State under the supervision of Hugh Hastings, state historian, Albany, James B. Lyon, 1905, pp. xlix, 3447-3800; lix, 3801-4413) cover the period from 1701 to 1810. The general plan of the work has already been outlined and discussed in this REVIEW, VIII. 551-553. Owing to the characteristic reticence of the editor in omitting explanatory introductions to every volume since the first, we are left in the dark as to whether or no more are to follow. However, the following note is tucked away at the bottom of vol. VI., p. 4394: "with the political troubles then prevailing in Holland, the reference to New York and New Jersey is finally dropped in the minutes of the Synod of North Holland". This, and the fact that this volume concludes (pp. 4395-4413) with an "inventory" or catalogue of the old archives of the classis of Amsterdam, together with lists of the Dutch and French ministers and churches in the Middle Colonies before 1700 and lists of early graduates of Holland universities who came to America, would seem to indicate that the series is finished. If so, one has still to regret the absence of an index, a lack for which the careful analytical table of contents prefixed to each volume hardly compensates.

Among the noteworthy extracts in the volumes before us are several relating to the foundation and early history of King's College (now Columbia University), and Queen's (now Rutgers) College, particularly William Livingston's fervid brief cited from the *Independent Reflector* against the evils of a sectarian college supported by public funds. Also a letter from the Reverend Gideon Hawley of Marshpee containing a narrative of his journey to Onohoghwage in 1753 furnishes some graphic and picturesque details concerning the Mohawk Indians and their country and the hardships which beset a missionary of those times. The source of this letter is not mentioned, while its date, July 3, 1794, surely must be wrong. Although some items in the letters from the New York churches to the classis of Amsterdam, e. g., one of October 7, 1757, relating to a proposed plan of union with Princeton for educational purposes and another of October 8, 1778, containing references to the war, touch on questions of general moment, most of the new material in these, as in the previous volumes, will concern only those particularly interested in the Dutch Reformed Church.

A. L. C.

Vol. XXV. of the *Archives of the State of New Jersey* (Paterson, Call Printing and Publishing Company, pp. 568), edited by Mr. William Nelson, bears date 1903, which doubtless should be 1905, as the preface is dated in the latter year. It consists of extracts relating to New Jersey derived from the newspapers of Philadelphia and New York for 1766 and 1767, when as yet New Jersey had no journals of her own. It is the sixth of such volumes in this series, and illustrates the social, industrial, educational, and political history of the province in the same varied and interesting manner as its predecessors. As in previous volumes, advertisements supply more of the material than the news columns, and advertisements for runaway slaves, indented servants and prisoners are especially numerous and entertaining. The political contents of the present volume are mostly concerned with the repeal of the Stamp Act. In educational history the chief event is the foundation of Queen's College; but Princeton commencements have their place, and schools and their affairs figure not infrequently in the pages.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Vols. V., VI., 1776 (Washington, 1906, pp. 417-856; 857-1173). The form and manner of Mr. Ford's editing are now so well understood and have been so generally admired and commended, that it will sometimes be needless to say much in these pages concerning the successive volumes. Of those before us, volume V. extends from June 5 to October 8. The fullness and skill with which Mr. Ford presents his data respecting the development of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation are all that call for special comment. Volume VI. extends to the close of the year. At its end the editor prints a list of standing committees for 1775-1776, Adams's and Jefferson's records of debates in the latter year, and Witherspoon's speech on the message from Lord Howe. Then follows a series of learned bibliographical notes, numbering 145 titles, and an excellent index to the volumes for the year 1776.

Early Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia. By John C. Hildt. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906, pp. 195.) It is a dubious experiment, to attempt to write of the diplomatic relations between two governments with only those materials that have been preserved in the archives or printed in the public documents of one of them. It is not quite true that such a procedure affords the writer only half the necessary light; but it is often nearly true. In the case before us, the Russian language and the cost of a journey to Russia interpose formidable obstacles to the processes which alone can ensure results approaching finality; but it does not appear that Mr. Hildt has made much attempt to see the negotiations from the Russian side by large use of materials in French and English, nor by deep study of European diplomatic history. He gives us a careful and clear but pedes-

trian account, based on the printed American materials and, after 1816, on an extensive use of the manuscript materials in the archives of the Department of State. Patiently summarizing each dispatch and conversation, the author is able from this source to cast some new light on the relations of Russia to Spanish America and on the negotiations for the treaty of 1824, with which the treatise ends.

Les Droits Législatifs du Président des États-Unis d'Amérique. Par Henri Bosc, Avocat, Docteur en Droit, Licencié ès Lettres. (Paris, Arthur Rousseau, 1906, pp. viii, 286.) This monograph professes to be a study of the influence exercised by the President of the United States over legislation by means of the message and the veto. (Other means of influence exercised by the President over legislation are, however, discussed at length.) The President, M. Bosc contends, does not constitutionally possess the right of initiative in legislation, because the exclusion of members of his cabinet from the floors of Congress prevents him from forcing Congress to consider the measures proposed in his messages. The President can, however, get his political friends to introduce measures which have been prepared in the executive departments. If the President's part in legislation stopped here, our author continues, his powers would not be very great, but the real work of preparing legislation is done not in the House and Senate, but in committees, and the committees are in the habit of calling members of the cabinet and other executive officials before them to give oral information, so that in this way the President has the opportunity of having his views presented and of making his influence felt. In addition to this, the President invites senators and representatives sitting on various committees to confer with him and thus he has the chance to modify their views. When a measure comes to the vote, there are various ways in which the President can influence the result. He can secure certain votes through the promise of patronage, or, in an emergency, he can do as McKinley did at the special session of 1897, when he refused to send in the general list of nominations until a vote had been taken on the tariff bill. M. Bosc's conclusions as to the permanent effect on the executive power of President Roosevelt's personal interference in legislation would probably be considered by most Americans as somewhat premature.

In discussing the veto our author contends that this power is, in its nature, legislative and not executive, and that the President constitutes in a sense a third branch of the legislature; that in giving the President the veto power the framers of the Constitution departed to that extent from the principle of the separation of powers. He objects to the use of the term veto, which he reminds us does not occur in the Constitution, and prefers the term sanction.

The monograph is a careful, interesting and lucid discussion, and the author seems to be thoroughly familiar with the theoretical aspects of the question. For the practical workings of the American system he

follows Bryce and Woodrow Wilson. The following errors are noted: on page 37, the statement that the Chief Justice presides over the Senate in all cases of impeachment; on page 66, *stradding* for *straddling*; on page 77, George Adams for John Adams; on page 79, the statement that the United States was not represented at the Conference of American States at Mexico in 1901; on page 254, 1846 for 1864.

JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ.

The Mississippi Territorial Archives, Vol. I., 1798-1803. Edited by Dunbar Rowland, Director, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. (Nashville, Brandon Printing Company, 1905 [1906], pp. viii, 615.) Beside his annual reports and statistical year-books Mr. Rowland proposes to print three series of documentary volumes,—Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1540-1798; Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1817; and Mississippi State Archives, extending from 1817 to the present time. The preparation of the first will require long researches, which it is understood that he has already set on foot, in the archives of Spain, France, and England. The second series is the nearest to being ready, and a beginning of its publication is now made by the issue of this substantial volume, which embraces the executive journal of the first territorial governor, Winthrop Sargent, and that of the first two years of his successor, W. C. C. Claiborne. They consist, in part, of copies of proclamations, orders and appointments made by the two governors, but mostly of copies of their official letters. Sargent's journal (pp. 14-334) begins May 21, 1798, at Cincinnati, where he received from Pickering the news of his appointment, and extends to April 3, 1801. Claiborne's (pp. 342-603) begins July 10, 1801, and the portion here printed ends March 27, 1803. Portraits of both governors are inserted, and a facsimile of the first page of Sargent's journal. His portrait and his letters make it easy to see why Jefferson should finally have written him that his administration "had not been so fortunate as to secure the general harmony, and the mutual attachment, between the people and the public functionaries, so peculiarly necessary for the prosperity and happiness of an infant establishment."

Mr. Rowland has given us a volume of great importance and value for Mississippi history. His editorial work seems to have been conscientiously done throughout. A less sparing use of explanatory footnotes would have been of advantage. It is a blemish that Governor Gayoso de Lemos, rightly entered under Gayoso in the index, should be entered under De Lemos in the table of contents. So also of Salcedo. A line from p. 367 has been lost, or rather has escaped to an odd place on p. 366.

Volumes XXII., XXIII., and XXIV. of the series of "Early Western Travels" (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company) are given up to the *Travels in the Interior of North America* by Maximilian Prince of

Wied. He was the eighth son of a princely house of Rhenish Prussia, and took his part in the struggle of fatherland against Napoleon. Before the wars were over, his passion for travel and for scientific exploration led him to South America, where he spent two years in studying the native races of Brazil and the natural history of the country. About fifteen years later (July 1832) he landed in Boston and began a journey to the great West, hoping to study with care the Transmississippi region and above all to get intimate knowledge of the habits and the speech of the Indians. He was accompanied by Charles Bodmer, a young Swiss artist of talent, who devoted himself with enthusiasm and industry to sketching the red men, their dress and adornments. Plates engraved from his sketches are to form volume XXV. of this series. The editor, Mr. Thwaites, says that in some respects Bodmer was "the most competent draughtsman who has thus far sought to depict the North American tribesmen".

Maximilian was two years in the United States. The account of his experiences and the description of what he saw are of very unusual interest. The style in translation is singularly clear and simple. No small portion of the narrative is of historical value; considerable portions describe the cities and the settlements east of the Mississippi, others throw light on the fur-trade and the early commerce of the Missouri, and the whole story is told in such a way that one is led to read for the pleasure of reading. The editing appears to have been done with exceptional fullness and care, the notes are abundant and supplement the text with information of a scientific and historical character. Few volumes of travels have received such careful attention from the editor. The amount of information thus given on places and persons that are incidentally mentioned by the author is very large.

Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877. By John S. Reynolds. (Columbia, S. C., The State Company, 1905, pp. 522.) Alongside of this book should be placed Allen's *Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina* (New York, 1888), which covers the last two years of the same period. Neither author has penetrated beyond the mere partizan narrative of political events into the profounder questions of South Carolina's reconstruction history. Students should examine both books, not for the conclusions, but possibly for the points of view and especially for the documentary material they contain; though both fail in indicating where, either in print or in manuscript, the material can elsewhere be found.

It is easy to make out a case of criminal wastefulness and bald corruption against the ruling party; and even to show that the courts could not be relied upon to punish the guilty, to vindicate the innocent, or to avenge the wronged. But the case in favor of those charged with Ku-Klux outrages, with intimidation in the "red shirt" and "hurrah for Hampton" campaign, and with ballot-box frauds in Edgefield (and in Beaufort too) is not so convincing.

The economic history of the state during this period—the recovery from war, the revival of business and industry, and the readjustment to the conditions of free labor, with whatever effect, favorable or unfavorable, the course of politics may have had on these things, needs exhaustive treatment but does not get a whole page. The basis of taxation was changed so that land—in the hands of those who were now land-poor—bore a heavier burden. Was this change made vindictively or in wisdom or in unthinking accord with the practice elsewhere of those who proposed it? The “carpet-baggers” imposed upon this extreme type of the southern state a New York code with New England embellishments; and Mr. Reynolds says that the result was not in all points unhappy. But he does not go further into this interesting experiment.

Through the enfranchisement of the blacks and the disfranchisement of many of those who had been leaders among the whites state governments were constructed to which Congress was willing to accord the rights of protection and the immunities of local self-government provided by the Constitution. Every one of these state governments fell, that of South Carolina last of all. Their failure suggests the timely inquiry whether it is possible ever to establish democratic self-government upon the basis of a mere numerical majority, whether there must not also be on the side of the rulers at least a fair share of the prestige, the integrity, the intelligence, and perhaps also of the property of the community; whether, in other words, Congress did not undertake an impossibility and did not set forces in motion that would inevitably produce evil results. Mr. Reynolds loses sight of the philosophy of history in the combat of opposing parties.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

The Virginia State Library (Mr. John P. Kennedy, librarian) has just published a large and well-printed volume entitled *Calendar of Transcripts, including the Annual Report of the Department of Archives and History* (Richmond, 1905, pp. 658, xlv). More exactly, the book is a report of the newly-created Department of Archives and History, by Mr. Edward S. Evans, acting chief, including a calendar of transcripts. About one-sixth of the book (pp. 7–118) consists of an inventory of the manuscripts, archival and other, relating to Virginian history, now in the custody of the state librarian. It would be convenient if somewhere it were stated, in statutory terms, just what this collection embraces; not, it is evident, the papers of the state land-office, which are described in a separate place in the volume, nor those of the offices of the auditor-general, adjutant-general, and attorney-general, which are not mentioned. After the inventory follows (pp. 118–640) an itemized list of transcripts, nearly 6400 in number, possessed by the state library, made chiefly from documents in the Public Record Office in London, and relating to Virginian history. Five-sixths of these documents, by the way, are abstracts, not full texts. Lastly, on pp. 640–658, comes a provisional in-

ventory of Virginian manuscripts preserved by the land-office, by the Virginia Historical Society, and at Washington. An ample index follows.

It is obvious that the book presents a great mass of data useful to historical scholars, making available large treasures at Richmond whose magnitude and variety could heretofore be only matter of surmise. Nevertheless it lays itself open to severe criticism by great want of care and skill in arrangement. It is worth while to dwell somewhat upon its defects, if only because we seem to be at the beginning of a period of great activity in documentary publication by states and societies which hitherto have done little of such work. Why should men proceed as if there were in existence no good models for the printing of historical inventories, calendars, and collections of documents? The book before us, for instance, has no table of contents. It sacrifices all the help and guidance that running headlines can afford the reader, by presenting, from p. 1 to p. 658, only the useless if not misleading heading "Report of the State Librarian". In the first section, the individual journals of the Council and of the House of Delegates, each of which a prudent compiler would describe in one line with perfect sufficiency, are each given five or six lines by repetitious printing, wasting twenty pages out of twenty-five. Throughout this section each item, as if the copyist's cards had been sent to the printer unedited, begins with the word VIRGINIA in capitals, so that that name, repeated eight or nine hundred times as the catch-word, makes it exceedingly difficult to find the word which is really significant and should catch the eye. The list of transcripts, the main contents of the book, begins in the middle of a page (p. 118) without proper heading, and ends with as little ceremony as it begins. In it also there is a considerable waste of space. The Sainsbury abstracts, the main division (pp. 119-534), are listed in the order in which they are bound, which apparently is the casual order in which Mr. Sainsbury found or sent them, and which anyhow is far from chronological. Now aside from the obvious convenience and propriety of the chronological order, it saves much print, because one never needs to print the year-date except just before January 1 and, of course, in the running headlines. Also, a non-chronological arrangement prevents the discovery of duplicates between, *e. g.*, Sainsbury and Winder abstracts, and so wastes more print. After each abstract or transcript is printed in italics an abbreviated designation of its provenance in the Public Record Office, but nowhere are these terms of designation explained.

COMMUNICATIONS

QUOGUE, N. Y., July 25, 1906.

THE EDITOR OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dear Sir:—

IN the issue of the REVIEW for July, in the review of my *War of 1812*, your reviewer, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, has fallen into an inadvertence of statement which I cannot afford to leave uncorrected. He writes:

"The naval victories on Lake Champlain and the military victories at New Orleans are treated as events irrelevant to the objects and outcome of the war."

As to New Orleans, this is exact as regards the outcome; scarcely so, I think, as regards the objects. As to Lake Champlain, it is entirely contrary to what I explicitly stated. Thus, in concluding my account of Macdonough's victory, Vol. II., p. 381, I say:

"The battle of Lake Champlain, more nearly than any other incident of the War of 1812, merits the epithet decisive."

This is certainly not saying that the battle was irrelevant to the outcome of the war; and that this was not an accidental comment on my part, but in keeping with my steady point of view, appears both from the preface, which I refrain from quoting, and from the following other extracts:

"As, on a wider field and in more tremendous issues, the fleets of Great Britain saved their country, and determined the fortunes of Europe, so Perry and Macdonough averted from the United States, without further fighting, a rectification of frontier," etc. (Vol. II., p. 101.)

"In 1814 there stood between the Government and disastrous reverse, and loss of territory, in the north, only the resolution and professional skill of a yet unrecognized seaman on the neglected waters of Lake Champlain." (Vol. II., p. 267.)

Whatever may be thought of these two estimates, in themselves, they show that I considered this battle far from irrelevant to "the objects, or the outcome, of the War."

The statement of your reviewer affects too seriously my sanity, as an historical writer, to be passed over in the silence with which an author of many years' experience learns to accept differences of opinion. But for it, I should not have written at all; but, as it has drawn me out, I will say further that, in my judgment, your reviewer has failed in another respect to reach the high standard which should be expected in the REVIEW. The *obiter dicta* of the periodical press are one thing; the REVIEW is specialist in aim and character. Mr. Hunt writes:

"Nor is Captain Mahan without injustice in his treatment of the controversy which terminated in the dismissal of Jackson, the British minister. No minister had ever gone so far in insolence, and no self-respecting government could have done other than dismiss him."

Insolence, doubtless, may be cause for dismissal; the degree that demands it is matter of opinion. Mr. Hunt says Jackson's insolence reached it; an opinion about which I am not solicitous to differ. But in an historical magazine, should it be thought necessary to express an opinion, the opinion should speak to the facts. The fact is that our Government dismissed Jackson, not on a general charge of insolence, but on the specific ground that in his letters to it he had made, and afterwards repeated, a specific implication, which was false and insolent. The American letter ran thus:

"I *abstain*, Sir, from making any particular animadversions on several irrelevant and improper allusions in your letter. . . . But it would be improper to conclude the few observations to which I *purposely limit* myself, without adverting to your repetition of a language implying a knowledge on the part of this Government that the instructions of your predecessor did not authorize the arrangement formed by him."

The abstention, and the limitation, here italicized by me, exclude other grounds for action than the language construed by Madison to imply the meaning which he repelled; and the letter of dismissal rests directly, and solely, upon the same ground: "language reiterating, and even aggravating, the same gross insinuation." After a very diligent examination of the correspondence, I elaborated in the book under review a demonstration that Jackson's language, carefully and fairly scrutinized, did not imply the statement put into his mouth. My conclusion was expressed in these words:

"Prepossession in reading, and proneness to angry misconception, must be inferred in the conduct of the American side of this discussion; for another even graver instance," etc. (p. 226).

This is simply a statement of opinion, with which any one is at liberty to differ; but, as an opinion, it relates not to a general charge of insolence, but to the specific reason alleged by the American Government for its action, which I endeavored to show was unfounded. The opinions advanced by me currently in my account of the transaction, and summarized in the above extract, constitute my injustice in this matter to the administration of Madison; that injustice, if it exists, should have been indicated, not by a general sweeping mention, but by the statement that the facts contained in my demonstration failed to sustain the judgment that "prepossession in reading and proneness to angry misconception must be inferred from the American conduct of the discussion." From first to last the action of the American Government was based on a specific implication, alleged to be in Jackson's letter. If that implication was in the letter, fairly and dispassionately read, I have been unjust; if it was not in the letter, but, as I have asserted, and I think

demonstrated, was read into it, wilfully or carelessly, I have not been unjust. Either view is open to a reviewer's conscientious conviction; but the conviction, when stated, should be in reference to what I have said, and not to what I have not said.

The matter is of consequence because, if I am right, the whole correspondence throws light on Madison's characteristics, confirming impressions which his other diplomatic letters produce; because the examination of the phraseology which I gave I have found nowhere else, and by it the diplomatic incident is essentially transformed; and, finally, because the character of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* demands on the part of its reviewers more exactness in stating the position of an author, when they charge him with injustice.

A. T. MAHAN.

IF Captain Mahan had ever seen the instructions which the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* sends its reviewers he would have known that they are discouraged from sacrificing space to argumentative criticism. He is probably aware that they are always strictly limited to the matter of space. To review Captain Mahan's volumes in a thousand words seemed to me a task which could not under any arrangement of ideas be satisfactorily performed, and I thought it advisable to merely express a dissent to his treatment of the Jackson incident without setting forth the treatment and an argument to show wherein it is unjust, which would have taken all my space. It is the very thing I wanted to do, but I do not believe my readers would have liked it. I believe Captain Mahan to be in error in thinking he has discovered a meaning, or an absence of meaning, in Jackson's most insolent letter to Madison, which no one (not even Madison) ever discovered before; and I hope to show it on an occasion in the near future.

As for the sentence about Lake Champlain and New Orleans it is obviously too sweeping, being a mistake which I was carelessly led into by the following passage of Captain Mahan's:

"For these reasons, whatever transactions took place in this quarter [Lake Champlain] up to the summer of 1814 were in characteristic simply episodes; an epithet which applies accurately to the more formidable, but brief, operations here in 1814, as also to those in Louisiana. Whatever intention underlay either attempt, they were in matter of fact almost without any relations of antecedent or consequent. They stood by themselves, and not only may, but should, be so considered. Prior to them, contemporary reference to Lake Champlain, or to Louisiana, is both rare and casual. For this reason, mention of earlier occurrences in either of these quarters has heretofore been deferred, as irrelevant and intrusive if introduced among other events, with which they coincided in time, but had no further connection." (Vol. II., p. 357.)

GAILLARD HUNT.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

The volume of General Index to the first ten volumes of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, may be expected from the press about the end of October, and may be obtained from the publishers, The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

M. Albert Sorel, one of the most distinguished of French historians, member of the French Academy and Professor at the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, died on June 29, at the age of sixty-four. During the Franco-German war he was chief secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Government of National Defense, and in 1875 published his *Histoire Diplomatique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*. His monumental work, remarkable alike for erudition and brilliancy, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, was published in eight volumes during the twenty years 1885-1904. Among his minor writings are *The Eastern Question in the Eighteenth Century* (1877), which was translated into English (1898); *Essais d'Histoire et de Critique* (1883); *Bonaparte et Hoche en 1797* (1898); and biographies of Montesquieu (1887) and Madame de Staël (1891).

Dr. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, librarian and late fellow and assistant tutor of Emmanuel College, died suddenly on July 10 in the sixty-third year of his age. He was the author of a life of *Augustus* (1903) and of histories of Greece and Rome, all of which were addressed to the general reader rather than to the specialist. He also edited and translated a considerable number of Greek and Latin works, and wrote a history of his college.

Professor Giuseppe Mazzatinti, editor of the serial publication *Gli Archivi della Storia d'Italia* (1897 —) and compiler of the *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia* (1890 —), died on April 18 at the age of forty years. He edited a number of chronicles and other writings, among which was a volume of letters of Giuseppe Mazzini.

Professor Charles M. Andrews has been appointed professor of history in Johns Hopkins University. He will not assume the duties of his new position until the fall of 1907.

Professor Franklin H. Giddings has been appointed to the chair of the History of Civilization in Columbia University, founded by Mrs. Maria H. Williamson.

Professor Henry Ferguson, D. D., has resigned from the professorship of history in Trinity College (Hartford) and has been elected to the rectorship of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire.

Mr. W. L. Grant, formerly of the University of Toronto, has been appointed Beit Lecturer on colonial history in the University of Oxford, as assistant to Professor Egerton.

Professor E. L. Stevenson of Rutgers College has been appointed lecturer on historical cartography in Columbia University.

Among other faculty changes and appointments we note the following: Dr. Guy S. Ford of Yale is to be professor of European history in the University of Illinois; Dr. G. H. Roberts has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of California; Mr. William K. Boyd goes from Dartmouth College to Trinity College (Durham, N. C.); Dr. A. H. Shearer of Trinity College (Hartford) is to be instructor in history in Dartmouth; Mr. Cecil F. Lovell, of Bates, has been appointed professor of history in Trinity College (Hartford); Dr. Charles E. Fryer is to be instructor in history in McGill University; Dr. J. F. Willard has been appointed assistant professor in the University of Colorado.

Professor Samuel B. Platner has spent the summer in Rome in the study of recent explorations, as a preliminary to the preparation of a new edition of his work on the Forum.

During the coming academic year the Viscount Georges d'Avenel will deliver before the Cercle Français at Harvard University a course of lectures on "The Economic History of France from the Middle Age to the Twentieth Century".

The Prussian Ministry of Education has established in Columbia University the Kaiser Wilhelm chair of German history and institutions, corresponding to the Theodore Roosevelt professorship, previously described in these columns. The first appointee to the new chair is to be Dr. Hermann Schumacher, ordinary professor of political economy in the University of Bonn.

The third volume of the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (Rome, April, 1903) is concerned with medieval and modern history, historical method, and the auxiliary sciences. (Roma, R. Accademia dei Lincea, 1906, pp. lii, 719.)

The general governments of Indo-China and of Madagascar have founded a course in colonial history at the Sorbonne, in charge of M. Prosper Cultru. M. Cultru's *Leçon d'Ouverture du Cours* has been printed by Jacquin (Besançon, 1906, pp. 30).

A work on *Lord Acton and His Circle* by Abbot Gasquet is announced for immediate publication by Mr. George Allen. The book will contain many letters to various correspondents hitherto unpublished.

We congratulate the editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift* upon the enlargement and improved appearance of their excellent and celebrated journal; and upon the adoption of Latin instead of German type—a change that will be especially welcomed by foreign readers. A general index to volumes 57-96 is now in press.

An index to the reports of the meetings of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres has been compiled by M. A. G. Ledos and published under the title: *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-rendus des Séances. Table des Années 1857-1900* (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. xix, 232).

The fourth fascicle of the twenty-fourth volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht* (1904) contains 508 pages devoted to ecclesiastical history (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1906).

The sixteenth fascicle of the series of *Studi e Testi* (Rome, Imp. Vaticane, 1906, pp. x, 695) is entitled *Initia Patrum Aliorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum ex Mignei Patrologia et ex compluribus aliis Libris*, part I., embracing the first half of the alphabet, by M. Vattasso.

Professor H. M. Gwatkin's work on *The Knowledge of God and its Historical Development* (Edinburgh, T. Clark, 1906) represents the Gifford lectures delivered at Edinburgh in 1904 and 1905. The second volume contains historical chapters on The Early Church; The Nicene Age; Rome Pagan; Rome Christian; the Reformation; and Modern Thought.

Dr. Charles Bigg, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, has published through Longmans a volume entitled *Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History* (1906, pp. ix, 230), comprising nine lectures dealing with the making of the medieval system, the decay of the medieval system, and the beginning of modern Christianity. The lectures bear the following titles: Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius Apollinaris, Grosseteste, Wycliffe, A Kempis, and the English Reformation (three lectures on this last subject).

The new manual of canon law by M. André Mater, entitled *L'Église Catholique, sa Constitution, son Administration* (Paris, Colin, 1906, pp. 461) contains an account of the formation and history of the canon law with a bibliography of sources.

Not many books are addressed to both the historian and the astronomer, but students of both sciences will be interested in Professor F. K. Ginzel's enormously learned work entitled *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie. Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906, I., pp. xii, 584). The first volume, recently published, deals with the methods of reckoning time employed by the Babylonians, Egyptians, Mohammedans, Persians, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and the peoples of southeast Asia and Central America. Two later volumes will treat of all other peoples concerning whose systems of chronology there is attainable evidence.

Christliche und Jüdische Ostertafeln (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 197) is the title of a work by E. Schwartz, which also appeared in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse*, new series, VIII. 6. The results arrived at are

conveniently summarized by the author in his article "Osterbetrachtungen", in the *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, VII., 1906.

In *Heresies of Sea Power* (Longmans, 1906, pp. 341) by Fred. T. Jane, "no attempt is made to go into the details of past history. Only the main facts are selected for comparison with accepted theories of Sea power, and thence is deduced a new theory as to what history really does teach."

Seiji George Hishida's study of *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power* (Macmillan, 1905, pp. 289 [Columbia Studies in History, etc.]) deals with "the International Society of Ancient Asia," 660 B. C.-930 A. D.; "Dreams of Universal Empire", 894-1595; the first intercourse of Japan with European nations, 1541-1638; the re-opening of sealed Japan, 1643-1863; entry into the comity of nations; modern relations with Asiatic nations; and the Far Eastern question. Appendixes contain the treaty of Portsmouth and the renewed Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The first work selected for editing in Father Beccari's notable series, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI. ad XIX.* (Paris, Picard), is *Historica Aethiopiae* by the seventeenth-century Jesuit, Father Petro Paez.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Lindner, *Reaktion und Kontrast in der Geschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 3); P. Allard, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); G. Liebe, *Waffenkunde und Kulturgeschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 3); P. Sakmann, *Die Probleme der Historischen Methodik und der Geschichtsphilosophie bei Voltaire* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 2); G. d'Avenel, *Les Riches depuis Sept Cent Ans. I. Les Millionnaires d'Autrefois, II.—En quoi consistaient les Anciennes Fortunes* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The first volume of *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome* (pp. iv, 220) has been published by the Macmillan Company. The *American Journal of Archaeology* will continue to publish papers by members of the school, but those that cannot be included in its pages will appear in the series inaugurated in the above-mentioned volume.

Messrs. Longman announce for immediate publication a history of *Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome and among the Early Christians*, by Dr. J. Donaldson, Principal of the University of St. Andrews, and *Stoic and Christian in the Second Century*, by Leonard Alston, Burney prizeman of Cambridge.

Mr. G. F. Hill, author of *The Coins of Sicily*, has brought out a work on *Historical Greek Coins* (London, Constable, 1906) with plates illustrating over 100 coins.

The British Museum has published a *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia* (pp. 491, plates 53) compiled by Dr. B. V. Head, keeper of the department of coins and medals.

G. Colin's work, *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1905, pp. 683), which forms the ninety-fourth fascicle of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, has been crowned by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. A detailed statement regarding the fascicles of this series which have appeared from 1904 to 1906 is given in *Le Moyen Âge*, May-June, pp. 182-183.

The third volume of P. Groebe's revised edition of W. Drumann's *Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung* (Berlin, Borntraeger, 1906, pp. xii, 829) comprises the sections relating to the families *Domitii-Julii*. The portion dealing with the Roman calendar in the years 45-43 B. C. is published separately by the same house.

Studies of Roman Imperialism by Mr. W. T. Arnold, edited by Mr. E. Fiddes with a memoir of the author by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Mr. C. E. Montague, forms the fourth number in the Historical Series published by the University of Manchester (University Press, 1906, pp. cxxiii, 281). The volume contains seven chapters, of which two deal with the constitution and the rest mainly with the several provinces of the Empire, not including Roman Britain or Africa.

Professor E. Kornemann's critical study *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom* treats of various questions connected with the life of the Emperor and with the historical work of the Anonymous of the time of Alexander Severus. (Leipzig, Dieterich, pp. viii, 136.)

Dr. E. C. Clark, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge, has published through the University Press the first part of a *History of Roman Private Law* (1906, pp. 168) dealing with its sources, and including a chronological sketch. The work aims at a systematic treatment of Roman Private Law as a matter of historical development.

A Short History of Roman Law (Toronto, Canada Law Book Company, 1906, pp. 220) is the title under which Professors A. H. F. Lefroy and J. H. Cameron, both of Toronto, have published a translation of the first part of Professor P. F. Girard's *Manuel Élémentaire de Droit Romaine*.

Die Verfassungsgeschichte der Germanen und Kelten (Berlin, K. Siegmund, 1906, pp. viii, 208) is a contribution by Julius Cramer to the comparative study of antiquity, based largely upon the information furnished by Caesar and Tacitus regarding the two peoples.

Die Germanen im Römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins I. is the subject of a work by M. Bang, published by Weidmann (Berlin, 1906, pp. viii, 112).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Revillout, *Amasis et la Chute de l'Empire Égyptien* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); J. B. Bury, *The Homeric and the Historic Kimmerians* (Klio, VI. 1); M. J. Chabert, *Histoire Sommaire des Études d'Épigraphie Grecque en Europe* (Revue Archéologique, March, 1905–April, 1906); J. Beloch, *Griechische Aufgebote*, II. (Klio, VI. 1); F. Cumont, *Les Cultes d'Asie Mineure dans le Paganisme Romain* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, January–February).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Mgr. Duchesne, the learned editor of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Liber Censuum* of the Roman church, has written a *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 577), which comes down to the end of the third century. That the subject has been treated not only in a masterly but in an interesting manner may be inferred from the fact that a second edition has appeared two months after the first edition was put on sale.

Documentary publications: A. Bruckner, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelagianischen Streites* [Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften, II. 7] (Tübingen, Mohr, 1906, pp. viii, 103).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Leipoldt, *Christentum und Stoizismus* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, June); H. v. Schubert, *Hypatia von Alexandrien in Wahrheit und Dichtung* (Preussische Jahrbücher, 1906, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Prize Bordin has been awarded as follows: to M. J. Gay, for his work *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin depuis l'Avènement de Basile I. jusqu'à la Prise de Bari par les Normands, 867–1071* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 90, Paris, Fontemoing, 1905) 2000 francs; to MM. C. Samaran and G. Mollat for their work *La Fiscalité Pontificale en France au XIV^e Siècle, Période d'Avignon et Grand Schisme d'Occident* (*ibid.*, fasc. 96, pp. xv, 278) 600 francs; and to P. Champion for his volume on *Guillaume de Flavy, Capitaine de Compiègne: Contribution à l'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc et à l'Étude de la Vie Militaire et Privée au XV^e Siècle* (Paris, Dumoulin, 1906, pp. xix, 307) 400 francs.

A *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* by M. Ch. Diehl is announced to appear in 1907 through the house of Picard.

The new series, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich, Beck) edited by L. Traube, opens with a work by S. Hellmann entitled *Sedulius Scotus* (1906, pp. xvi, 203), which includes the first complete and critical edition of the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, and studies on his *Collectaneum* or collection of extracts and of his commentary on Saint Paul.

A contribution to the history of medieval exegesis has been made by Dr. J. B. Hablitzel in his work on *Irabanus Maurus* (1906, pp. viii, 106) which forms the third number of the eleventh volume in the series of *Biblische Studien* published by Teubner, Leipzig.

The first of the series of *Mémoires et Travaux publiés par des Professeurs de Facultés Catholiques de Lille* is E. Lesne's important volume on *La Hiérarchie Épiscopale, Provinces, Métropolitains, Primats, en Gaule et Germanie depuis la Réforme de Saint Boniface jusqu'à la Mort d'Hincmar, 742-882* (Paris, Picard, pp. xvi, 350).

Dr. G. H. Putnam's new book on *The Censorship of the Church, and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature* is being published by his own firm, Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The memoirs of Guibert de Nogent, the historian of the crusades, are to be published in the *Collection de Textes destinée à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Picard). A monograph by B. Monod on *Le Moine Guibert et son Temps* was published last year through Hachette, Paris.

M. L. de Kerval has contributed to the series of *Opusculs de Critique Historique* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1906, pp. 221-288) a study of *L'Évolution et le Développement du Merveilleux dans les Légendes de S. Antoine de Padoue*.

Dr. A. Meister, whose book on the beginnings of modern diplomatic cryptography published in 1902 did not include a study of papal cipher-writing, has now made good this omission in a comprehensive work entitled *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der Päpstlichen Kurie von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts* [Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, Görres-Gesellschaft, Vol. XI.] (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1906, pp. 450).

An important study of the origins and early history of indulgences has been made by Dr. A. Gottlob in his work entitled *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass* (1906), which forms the thirtieth and thirty-first volumes of the *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* edited by Dr. U. Stutz and published by F. Enke, Stuttgart.

E. Gerland's *Geschichte des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel, I. Geschichte der Kaiser Balduin I. und Heinrich. 1204-1216* (Homburg v. d. Höhe, Gerland, 1905, pp. vii, 264), which is said to contain fuller references to authorities than any previous work on the same subject, forms part of a general history of the Frankish dominion in the Greek world—an undertaking whose starting-point is furnished in the manuscript remains of K. Hopf, historian of Greece in the Middle Ages.

The autobiography of the Franciscan Fra Salimbene (1221-1288) is being published under the editorship of Professor Holder-Egger in the *Monumenta Germaniae* (Scriptores, Vol. XXXII., Part I.). The stu-

dent who wishes to obtain quickly and easily an idea of the contents of the book may do so by reading Mr. G. G. Coulton's *From St. Francis to Dante* (London, Nutt, 1906, pp. vi, 364), which is a translation of a large part of the chronicle together with illustrations from other medieval sources, and a running commentary.

Entstehung und Ausbreitung des Klarissenordens besonders in den Deutschen Minoritenprovinzen (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906, pp. 179) is the title of a monograph by Dr. E. Wauer, who in 1903 published a dissertation on *Die Anfänge des Klarissenordens in den Slawischen Ländern*. The book includes chronological lists, arranged under countries, and an alphabetical table of the 135 houses of the order that are dealt with.

A life of Cardinal Giordano Orsini, who played an important rôle in the Councils of Pisa and Constance and was one of the earliest adherents of humanism in the papal court, has been written from printed sources and from the manuscript material in Italian archives by Dr. E. König (Freiburg, Herder, 1906, pp. xii, 124). [Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, ed. by H. Grauert, V. 1.]

Documentary publications: H. Otto, *Ungedruckte Aktenstücke aus der Zeit Karls IV.* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); A. Sorbelli, *Il Trattato di S. Vincenzo Ferrer intorno al Grande Scisma d'Occidente* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1906, pp. 159); M. de Alpartil, *Chronica Actitatorum Temporibus Domini Benedicti XIII.*, I., ed. F. Ehrle [Quellen und Forschungen, Görres-Gesellschaft, XII]. (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1906, pp. xlii, 616) [published for the first time, with introduction, text, and appendix of unprinted documents].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Schneider, *Zur älteren Päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); H. U. Kantorowicz, *Schriftvergleichung und Urkundenfälschung: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Diplomatie im Mittelalter* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); A. Meister, *Burggrafenamt oder Burggrafentitel? Die Präfektur* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 2); P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales*, III. *La Patrie des Fausses Décrétales; 1. Les Provinces de Mayence et Reims* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); K. G. Hugelmann, *Der Einfluss Papst Viktors II. auf die Wahl Heinrichs IV.; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Päpstlichen Approbationsrechts bei der Deutschen Königswahl* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 2); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Das Papstwahldekret des Jahres 1059* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1); H. Thurston, *The English Pope and his Irish Bull* (The Month, April, May) [a critical study of the bull *Laudabiliter*, which the author believes to be authentic]; K. Hämpe, *Zum Erbkaiserplan Heinrichs VI.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1); C. Kohler, *Mélanges pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Orient Latin et des Croisades* (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VIII., IX., X. and separately, Paris, Leroux, 1906, 2d

fascicle, pp. 279-574); P. A. Kirsch, *Der Portiunkula-Abläss* (Theologische Quartalschrift, LXXXVIII. 81-101, 221-291.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Messrs. Macmillan announce the immediate publication of Lord Acton's *Lectures on Modern History*, which have been edited by the Rev. J. N. Figgis and Mr. R. V. Laurence.

The third and latest volume in the series of *Geschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Gotha, Perthes), edited by Professor Karl Lamprecht, contains three essays on the cultural history of France and Germany: *Jean Bodin*, by F. Renz; *Thomas Abbt's historisch-politische Anschauungen*, by O. Claus; and *Die Anschauungen der Franzosen über die Geistige Kultur der Deutschen im Verlaufe des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*.

La Traite Nègrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Asiento (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1906, two volumes, pp. xxii, 849, xxvii, 716) is a study in public law and diplomatic history drawn from the original sources and accompanied by several hitherto unpublished documents, by M. Georges Scelle.

The third volume of E. Bourgeois's valuable *Manuel Historique de Politique Étrangère* covers the period 1830-1878 (Paris, Belin, 1905, pp. 866).

Documentary publications: L. Cardauns, *Ein Programm zur Wiederherstellung der Kirchlichen Einheit aus dem Jahre 1540* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); A. Clergeac, *Inventaire Analytique et Chronologique de la Série des Archives du Vatican dite "Lettere di Vescovi"* [1657-1669] (Annales de Saint Louis des Français, X., pp. 319-375, con.); F. M. Kircheisen, *Die Schriften von und über Friedrich von Gentz* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der Modernen Welt* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 1); P. Herre, *Mittelmeerpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, July); L. Willaert, *Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598-1625)* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Question in 1718* (English Historical Review, July); F.-C. Roux, *La Politique Française en Égypte à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle*, II. (Revue Historique, July-August); *Canning and the Treaty of Tilsit* (Edinburgh Review, April); G. Yakschitch, *La Russie et la Porte Ottomane de 1812 à 1826*, I. (Revue Historique, July-August).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

An Historical Association has recently been formed in England to which all persons are eligible who are engaged or interested in the teaching of history. The aims of the association are the collection of

information as to existing systems of historical teaching at home and abroad; the distribution of information amongst members as to methods of teaching and aids to teaching; the encouragement of local centres for the discussion of questions relative to the study and teaching of history; the representation of the interests of the study to governmental authorities; and co-operation for common objects with similar associations of teachers of other subjects. The secretary *pro tem.* is Miss M. A. Howard, 7 Chenies Street Chambers, London, W. C.

The Royal Historical Society has removed its headquarters from Serjeants' Inn to South Square, Gray's Inn, where it will have increased accommodation.

Abbot Gasquet will publish through Mr. George Allen a book on *Parish Life in Mediæval England* dealing with parochial finance, parish church services, festivals, guilds, and amusements.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Third year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1176-1177 (London, Spottiswood, 1905, pp. xxx, 260) forms the twenty-sixth volume published by the Pipe Roll Society. In a brief but comprehensive introduction Mr. J. H. Round indicates the more important contents of the Roll, such as the destruction of castles which had been held against the king in the civil wars, the great sums exacted for offenses against the forests, and for final concords; the evidence relating to the working of the king's judicial reforms, to his passion for building and the splendor of his court; and the aids exacted from boroughs and vills, which if compared with earlier similar payments, throw light on the economic development of the country.

A monograph by F. Hardegen on the *Imperialpolitik König Heinrichs II. von England* forms the twelfth number of the *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neuren Geschichte*, edited by K. Hampe, E. Marcks and D. Schäfer. (Heidelberg, C. Winter.)

The second volume of the *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (1906, pp. xxvii, 267), edited by Abbot Gasquet, has been issued among the Camden publications of the Royal Historical Society. Whereas the first volume contained documents relating to the general administration of the Order in England, the second volume includes documents relating to individual houses, alphabetically arranged. The last house included is Irford. A third volume will contain the rest of the special documents and the index.

Another recent number in the Camden publications is *Acts and Ordinances of The Eastland Company* (1906, pp. lxxxviii, 175), edited for the Royal Historical Society from the original muniments of the Gild of Merchant Adventurers of York by Miss Maud Sellers. The volume also includes extracts from the court-book of the York Eastland Company, an appendix of charters and other official documents, and an introduction by the editor (pp. 80) dealing with the organization and activities of the

company; its relations to the Merchant Adventurers and the government; and the provincial courts.

The Oxford University Press is issuing a second edition of C. P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, revised and brought up to date by Mr. R. E. Stubbs. The first volume, dealing with *The Mediterranean and Eastern Colonies*, has already appeared.

The Clarendon Press has published an *Illustrated Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits of English Historical Personages who died between 1714 and 1837*, exhibited at Oxford in the spring of this year (pp. 106). A detailed account of the similar publication of last year will be found in this REVIEW, XI. 209.

The June *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* contains some twenty-five pages of "Correspondence between the Duke of Newcastle and Admiral Lestock and General St. Clair, relating to the expedition against L'Orient in 1746."

A series of *Selections from the Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Governors-General and Viceroy of India* edited by Mr. G. W. Forrest with introductions, maps and plans will be published by Mr. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford. The first volume, *Warren Hastings (1772-1785)*, is announced for immediate publication.

The first volume of Professor Felix Salomon's exhaustive biography, *William Pitt der Jüngere*, of which a part, pp. 1-208, was issued in 1901, has recently been published in its entirety by Teubner (Leipzig, pp. xiv, 208, 600) and comes down to the year 1793. The work will be completed in a second volume.

Mr. E. Fraser has made an important contribution to the literature of the Trafalgar campaign in his volume *The Enemy at Trafalgar* (Hodder and Houghton, 1906, pp. 456), which is an account of the battle from eye-witnesses' narratives and letters and despatches from the French and Spanish fleets.

We should have noted earlier the interesting monograph *Die Wirtschaftlichen und Politischen Motive für die Abschaffung des Britischen Sklavenhandels im Jahre 1806-1807* (1905, pp. x, 120) contributed by Dr. Franz Hochstetter to Schmoller and Sering's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot). The author tries to show that ethical motives did not suffice to bring about the abolition of the British slave-trade, but that it was abolished when England found it to be unprofitable.

Among Mr. Murray's autumn announcements are *Nelson and other Naval Studies* by James R. Thursfield, and *The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, 1792-1861*, first Lord of the Admiralty in the Ministries of Lord Grey and Lord Aberdeen, and Home Secretary in the administration of Sir Robert Peel, edited by C. S. Parker.

Messrs. Longman announce for immediate publication a work by

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb on *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act—The Parish and the County*; and Major-general J. Ruggles's *Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran*, 1845-1876.

Two parts of the first volume of the *History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, compiled under the direction of the British Government by Major-general Sir Frederick Maurice with a staff of officers, have been published through Hurst (1906, pp. 546 and maps). Four volumes are intended.

British government publications: *Early Chancery Proceedings*, vol. III., Lists and Indexes, no. xx.; *Proceedings in the Court of Requests*, vol. I., Lists and Indexes, no. xxi.; *Feudal Aids, 1284-1431*, vol. IV., Northampton-Somerset; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. VI., 1531-1538; *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls (Irish)*, 1295-1303; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Drogheda, vol. V., and on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Marchants' Quay, Dublin.

Other documentary publications: Mary Bateson, *Borough Customs*, vol. II. [Selden Society Publications, vol. XXI.] (London, Quaritch, 1906, pp. clvi, 242); H. Maxwell, *The Reign of Edward II. as recorded in the 'Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray* [trans.] (Scottish Historical Review, July).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Nisbet, *The History of the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire* (English Historical Review, July); B. H. Putnam, *The Justices of Labourers in the Fourteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); *Memoirs of the Whig Party* (Edinburgh Review, July); A. Lawrence Lowell, *Lord Randolph Churchill* (Atlantic Monthly, August); A. W. Moore, *The Connexion between Scotland and Man* (Scottish Historical Review, July); R. S. Rait, *John Knox and the Scottish Reformation* (Quarterly Review, July); H. Bingham, *The Early History of the Scots Darien Company: Investigation by the English Parliament* (Scottish Historical Review, July); R. Dunlop, *Origins of the Irish Race* (Quarterly Review, July).

FRANCE

A French Society of Bibliography has been organized at Paris under the honorary presidency of MM. L. Delisle and G. Darboux and the active presidency of M. M. Tourneux. Among its objects are the perfecting of the bibliographical apparatus of France, the re-establishing of the repertory of French reviews formerly published by Jordell and the compiling of a bibliography of official publications since 1815.

M. Georges Bourgin has compiled two important guides to the material for French history in foreign archives, *Inventaire Analytique et Extraits des Manuscrits du 'Fondo Gesuitico' de la Bibliotheca Nazionale*

Vittorio-Emanuele de Rome concernant l'Histoire de France, XVII^e-XIX^e Siècles (Paris, Champion, 1906, pp. 80, extr. from the *Revue de Bibliothèques*, January-February) and *Les Archives Pontificales et l'Histoire Moderne de la France* noted in our last number as having appeared in *Le Bibliographe Moderne* and since printed separately by Jacquin, Besançon (1906, pp. 114).

A new and entirely revised edition of the *Bibliographie des Bénédictins de la Congrégation de France* by the Fathers of the same Congregation (Paris, Champion, 1906, pp. xxviii, 190) contains more than 10,000 titles of volumes, articles and collections concerning history and the auxiliary sciences. A biographical notice of each author is given and a bibliography of works relating to the abbeys and the orders.

The subject of *Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)* (Heidelberg, C. Winter, pp. xv, 442) is treated at length by W. Vogel in the latest number (14) of the series of *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by Karl Hampe and others. The thirteenth number of the same series is a study of *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Karolingern bis zum Tode Ludwigs II.* (pp. 93) by G. Lokys.

Dutton and Company have published a new English version by Mrs. Ethel Wedgwood of the *Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville* (1906, pp. 428).

During his researches in the London Public Record Office, M. Eugène Déprez discovered a great number of missives of the English kings, dating from 1272 to 1485, written for the most part in French, and largely relating to the history of France. While the royal letters in Rymer's *Foedera* are the official letters patent and close, the series that has hitherto remained unprinted consists of personal and private correspondence, issued under the privy seal. The Société de l'Histoire de France has accepted M. Déprez's proposition to publish the most important of these letters in three or four volumes of its collections.

M. J. M. Vidal's *Le Tribunal d'Inquisition de Pamiers* (Toulouse, Vidal, 1906, pp. 313) is based upon a study of Vatican manuscripts and throws new light on the religious history of southern France. Several pontifical documents, and documents of the Inquisition, all dating from the fourteenth century, are included.

Du Breuil's *Stilus Parlamenti*—an important text for the history of French law and institutions—is announced for publication in the *Collection de Textes destinée à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Picard).

M. Henri Sec, the well-known economic historian, has published a work on *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1906, pp. 545).

The Commission on the Economic Life of the French Revolution has

published the first number of its *Bulletin Trimestriel* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, and E. Leroux, 1906, pp. 104), which contains the circulars already published, a list of the members of the central Commission and of the departmental committees, a chronicle of various matters relative to the activities of the Commission and of the committees, reports of their meetings, announcements regarding their publications, etc.

P. Boissonnade's *Études Relatives à l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* (1789-1804), which appeared in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, have been published separately (Paris, Cerf, 1906, pp. 172).

M. Dry has written an extended account of *Soldats Ambassadeurs sous le Directoire* in two volumes published by Plon, Paris.

M. Paul Gruyer has published a well-documented and well-illustrated volume on *Napoleon, Roi de l'Île d'Elbe* (Paris, Hachette, 1906, pp. 288).

A translation of M. Herriot's book on *Madame Récamier and her Friends*, the French edition of which has already been reviewed in this journal, is announced for publication by Mr. Heinemann.

The seventh volume of the *Histoire Socialiste* (Paris, J. Rouff), directed by M. Jaurès, deals with the Restoration and is by M. Viviani; the eighth volume, on the reign of Louis Philippe, is by M. Eugène Fournière. Both writers are Socialist deputies, and the latter is historical lecturer at one of the great military schools.

Documentary publications: Br. Krusch, *Die Urkunden von Corbie und Levislains letztes Wort* (Neues Archiv, XXXI. 2); J. Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France: Nonciatures de Clément VII.*, vol. I. (1525-1527) [Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France, vol. III.] (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. 87, 450); Vicomte de Noailles, *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans: Le Cardinal de la Valette, Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi, 1635-1639* (Paris, Perrin, 1906); Vicomte de Grouchy and P. Cottin, *Journal Inédit du Duc de Croy, 1718-1784* [from the manuscript in the Library of the Institute] (Paris, Flammarion, 1906, two vols., pp. lxiv, 528; 531); J. Baudry, *Une Ambassade au Maroc en 1767, Documents Inédits* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Comte de Lort de Sérignan, *Correspondance Intime du Duc de Lauzun, Général Biron, 1791-1792*. [published for the first time in extenso from the original manuscripts of the historical archives of the Ministry of War] (Paris, Perrin, 1906); C. Ballot, *Le Coup d'État du 18 Fructidor an V.* [reports of police and other documents] (Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution, Paris); A. Hübner, *Erlebnisse zweier Brüder während der Belagerung von Paris und des Aufstandes der Kommune 1870 bis 1871* (Berlin, Paetel, 1906, pp. viii, 216).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Baraude, *Le Siège d'Orléans et Jeanne d'Arc, 1428-1429* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); E. Mâle, *L'Art Français à la Fin du Moyen Âge: L'Idée de la Mort et la Danse Macabre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April); F. Aubert, *Le*

Parlement de Paris au XVI^e Siècle (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, II., III., January–February; March–April; and, separately, Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1906, pp. 114); J. Richard, *Origines de la Nonciature de France: Débuts de la Représentation Permanente sous Léon X.*, 1513–1521 (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); G. Pagès, *L'Histoire Diplomatique du Règne de Louis XIV.* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, June); L. Cahen, *La Société des Amis des Noirs et Condorcet* (La Révolution Française, June); G. Bord, *La Conspiration Maçonnique de 1789* (Le Correspondant, May 10 and 25); É. Dejean, *Une Statistique de la Seine-Inférieure au Début du Siècle Dernier sous l'Administration de Beugnot, I. La Préparation de la Statistique; II. Les Résultats de la Statistique* (La Révolution Française, June, July); F. Thénard and R. Guyot, *Le Conventionnel Goujon*, con. (Revue Historique, July–August); A. Bonnefons, *La Culte de la Raison pendant la Terreur* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); M. Pellet, *Le General Humbert* (La Révolution Française, July); James W. Thompson, *Napoleon as a Booklover* (Atlantic Monthly, July); A. Aulard, *Taine Historien de la Révolution Française, III. L'Assemblée Constituante* (La Révolution Française, May).

ITALY, SPAIN

An important historical congress is to be held in Milan in November in connection with the International Exhibition recently opened in that city. It will deal exclusively with the history of modern Italy, 1796–1870, and its scope will be to stimulate and organize research in that special field, to further systematic and organized cataloguing of its historical documents and to create keener interest in their preservation. An exhibition of historical documents and objects will be held in connection with the congress, and elaborate preparations are being made to secure unpublished material from both public and private archives throughout Italy. Among the supporters of the undertaking are the most notable historians of Italy, and not a few foreigners. Two Americans have been invited to attend the congress as delegates, William Roscoe Thayer as representative of the United States, and H. Nelson Gay as one of the representatives of Rome. The publication of the official bulletin has been already begun, *Bollettino Ufficiale del Primo Congresso Storico del Risorgimento Italiano e Saggio di Mostra Sistematica* (Milano, L. T. Cogliati, 1906), a monthly periodical containing important unpublished historical documents and inventories of archives, as well as the official proceedings and communications of the congressional committees.

Signor Pietro Sella proposes to publish under the title of *Corpus Statutorum Italicorum* a work in several volumes which will include the most important statutes up to 1400. He has issued a *Piano di Pubblicazione* through Forzani, Rome (1906).

A History of Rome in the Middle Ages by F. Marion Crawford and Professor G. Tomassetti is announced for publication by Macmillan.

The first volume of H. Kretschmayr's *Geschichte von Venedig*, which comes down to the death of Enrico Dandolo, is issued in Lamprecht's series *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xvii, 523).

Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im Italischen Königreich von der Zeit von Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grossen (774-962) is the title of an excellent and comprehensive study by A. Hofmeister published in the *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, VII. Ergänzungsband, 2. (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1906, pp. 215-435.)

The Guilds of Florence (Methuen, 1906, pp. ix, 622) is an attractive volume by Mr. Edgcumbe Staley which contains much interesting matter, including excellent illustrations after miniatures in illuminated manuscripts and Florentine woodcuts. An extended bibliography of manuscripts and books is appended (pp. 585-599).

In his work on *Notre Dame de Lorette* (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. 516) M. Ulysse Chevalier, compiler of the *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Âge*, has made an exhaustive critical study of the authenticity of the legend of the translation of the Virgin's house.

An admirable life of *Saint Bernardine of Siena* (1380-1444), by M. Paul Thureau-Dangin of the French Academy, has been translated into English by Baroness G. von Hugel and published by Dutton and Company (1906, pp. xii, 288). It has been the author's aim "to utilize the original sources at his disposal so as to furnish the reader with a living portrait of the saint, with a graphic picture of his time and environment, and above all to discover the secret of that preaching which was attended by such marvellous results."

Professor Lanciani is publishing through Messrs. A. Constable a book entitled *Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*, which aims at describing the evolution of the Eternal City from medieval conditions to the height of its Renaissance.

Machiavelli's *Art of War*, *The Prince*, and *The Florentine History* form volumes 39 and 40 of the series of "Tudor Translations", published by Nutt, London.

Signor E. Artom has published the first installment of the papers of his father Senator Artom, Cavour's private secretary, under the title *L'Opera Politica del Senatore J. Artom nel Risorgimento Italiano*, Part I. (Bologna, Zanichelli).

An excellent historical quarterly has recently been founded in Umbria, the *Archivio Storico del Risorgimento Umbro* (1796-1870), edited by Professor Giuseppe Mazzatinti, Dott. Giustiniano Degli Azzi, and Dott. Angelo Fani, and excellently printed by the publishing house

of S. Lapi, Città di Castello. The primary object of the publication is to secure to history, documents and memoirs found in private archives, as well as the personal reminiscences of men still living who had a part in events, or were eye-witnesses of them. Public archives are also laid under contribution. The editing of the four numbers which have thus far appeared is excellent, and the material included is, for the most part, of the first importance. The ground covered is restricted, but events in Umbria, 1796-1870, are of sufficient importance to merit universal attention and support for the *Archivio*.

Documentary publications: R. Majocchi, N. Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiæ* (Pavia, Rossetti, vols. I. [1258-1400], II., 1905-1906); S. Lentulo, *Historia delle Grandi e Crudeli Persecuzioni fatte ai Tempi Nostri in Provenza Calabria e Piemonte contro il Popolo che chiaman Valdese*, ed. T. Gay (Torre Pellice, Alpina, 1906); *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* publicadas por acuerdo del Congreso de los Diputados à propuesta de su Comisión de Gobierno Interior: Cortes celebradas en Madrid en los años de 1607 à 1611, vol. XXVI. [1610-1611] (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1906).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Huyskens, *Das Kapitel von St. Peter in Rom unter dem Einflusse der Orsini (1276-1342)*: I. *Die Verwaltung der Peterskirche durch die Erzpriester aus dem Hause Orsini, 1276-1337* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 2); *Marino Falier* (Edinburgh Review, July); G. Daumet, *Les Testaments d'Alphonse X. le Savant Roi de Castille* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January-April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

An account of the proceedings of the annual meeting of German historians, held in Stuttgart last April, is given on pages 294-302 of the May number of the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*; the July number of the same journal (pp. 428-429) contains an account of the conference of the "Landesgeschichtliche Publikationsinstitute", held at the same time. The next Historikertag will take place in Dresden, in the autumn of 1907, under the presidency of Professor G. Seeliger.

The seventh edition of the indispensable work of Dahlmann and Waitz, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1906, pp. 1020), has been completed by E. Brandenburg and his four associates, except for a supplement which will be issued early in next year and will bring all divisions of the bibliography down to the close of 1906. Besides the additional titles, some alterations in the arrangement distinguish this edition from the last, which was published twelve years ago.

During the past year the *Historisches Jahrbuch* of the Görres-Gesellschaft has contained detailed reports of the scientific activities of the following commissions and societies: in volume XXVI., number 4, the Roman Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft (pp. 950-953); the Society for the History of the Rhineland (pp. 954-957); the Historical Com-

mission of Nassau (p. 957); in volume XXVII., the Historical Commission of Baden (pp. 244-246); the Historical Commission for the publication of the sources of Lotharingian history (pp. 246-247); the German Commission of the Berlin Academy of Sciences (pp. 473-476); the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (pp. 477-480); the Commission for the Modern History of Austria (pp. 480-481); the Society for the History of the Rhineland (pp. 722-724); and the Historical Commission of Hesse and Waldeck (pp. 725-726). In volume XXVII. 3, pp. 716-722, a full statement is made regarding publications of the past year in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The publications in the section of "Scriptores" have been already noted in our pages (XI. 473, 730; and above, p. 192); in the section of "Leges" J. Schwalm has edited *Constitutiones et Acta Publica*, III. 2 (1273-1298); IV. 1 (1298-1310); the section of "Diplomata" has issued the first volume of *Urkunden der Karolinger*, 751-814; and that of "Antiquitates", the third volume of *Necrologia Germaniae*, for the dioceses of Brixen, Freising and Regensburg.

From the annual report of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome (*Quellen und Forschungen*, IX. 1) we learn that of the first series of the *Nuntiaturberichte*, the fifth volume, covering the years 1539-1541, and the tenth volume, covering the years 1547-1548, are nearly completed; of the third series of the *Nuntiaturberichte*, volume five is now in press; the *Prager Nuntiaturberichte* from 1603 to 1606 will be printed next year. Work on the *Repertorium Germanicum* is continued by Dr. Göller, and Drs. Niese and Schneider are carrying on the systematic investigation of Tuscan archives and libraries begun in 1904. In connection with the newly-undertaken investigations into the history of art Dr. Haseloff has visited the cities and castles of Capitanía and Apulia and has studied with particular care the castle of Bari.

Georg Caro's important essays on agrarian history are collected under the title *Beiträge zur älteren Deutschen Wirtschafts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, Veit, 1905, pp. 132).

W. Wittich, whose important book on *Grundherrschaft in Nordwestdeutschland* appeared ten years ago, has published a work on *Altfreiheit und Dienstbarkeit des Uradels in Niedersachsen* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1906, pp. vii, 203).

The first publication of the new "Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte", the founding of which was noted in our pages one year ago, is R. Fester's *Franken und die Kreisverfassung* (Würzburg, Stürtz, 1906, pp. 78), which includes a summary inventory of "Kreisakten" found in various archives.

An account of the undertakings of the Historical Commission of Saxony is given in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for March, pp. 148-149. This commission has recently issued through Teubner, Leipzig, a collection of *Die ältesten gedruckten Karten der Sächsisch-Thüringischen*

Länder, 1550-1593, with explanatory text by Dr. V. Hantzsch. The work is preparatory to an intended comprehensive publication on the development of the cartographic representation of the electorate and kingdom of Saxony.

The new series *Tübinger Studien für Schwäbische und Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (Tübingen, Laupp) is opened by two monographs by the editor of the series, Professor F. Thudichum, one on *Die Stadtrechte von Tübingen 1388 und 1493* (1906, pp. viii, 79) and the other, *Die Diözesen Konstanz, Augsburg, Basel, Speier, Worms nach ihrer alten Einteilung in Archidiaconate, Dekanate und Pfarreien* (1906, pp. 125).

In his work entitled *Kaiser Maximilian I. als Kandidat für den Päpstlichen Stuhl, 1511* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1906, pp. vii, 86), A. Schulte concludes that the Emperor entertained the project of uniting the tiara and the imperial crown.

A new collection of *Flugschriften aus den Ersten Jahren der Reformation*, intended to comprise all the characteristic, original and interesting specimens of this class of writings up to the year 1525, including those by Catholic writers, will be published in a series of volumes by Dr. Otto Clemen and several well-known collaborators through the house of Haupt, Halle.

A history of *Die Jugend und Erziehung der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und Könige von Preussen* is being compiled from archive material by Dr. Georg Schuster, archivist of the royal family of Prussia. The first volume by Dr. Schuster and F. Wagner begins with the Elector Frederick I. and ends with the Elector Joachim II. (Berlin, Hofmann, 1906, pp. xxiii, 608).

A life of *Queen Louisa of Prussia* has recently been published by Miss M. Moffat through Methuen (pp. 326).

Professor M. Doeberl of the University of Munich is writing an *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, of which the first volume extends from the earliest times to the Peace of Westphalia (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1906, pp. x, 594) while the second will come down to the founding of the German Empire and conclude with a consideration of the present position of Bavaria in the Empire. The work, which treats of Bavarian history from the standpoint of the general historical development of Germany, is addressed to the teacher, the university student and the general reader, and is provided with bibliographies.

The first half of volume ninety-four of the *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte* (Vienna, Hölder, 1906, pp. 310) is composed of four contributions towards the historical atlas of the Austrian Alp lands: *Die Entstehung der Landgerichte im Bayrisch-Oesterreichischen Rechtsgebiete*, by H. v. Voltelini; *Immunität, Landeshoheit und Waldschenkungen*, by E. Richter; *Gemarkungen und Steuergemeinden im Lande Salzburg* also by E. Richter; *Das Land im Norden der Donau*, with map showing possessions of lay lords at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by J. Strnadt.

An excellent though brief history of Switzerland (pp. 180) has been written for the series of small handbooks known as the *Sammlung Götschen* (Leipzig, Götschen, 1906) by Professor K. Dändliker, the author of the three-volume work on the same subject. The book contains so much bibliographical information that it will serve as a convenient starting-point for those who wish to pursue the subject further.

Documentary publications: T. Sničiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, III., 1201–1235 [Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Southern Slavs] (Agram, G. Trpinac, 1905, pp. xii, 538); A. E. Schönbach, *Des Bartholomaeus Anglicus Beschreibung Deutschlands gegen 1240* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1); J. Dex, *Metzer Chronik über die Kaiser und Könige aus dem Luxemburger Hause*, ed. Dr. G. Wolfram [Quellen zur Lothringischen Geschichte] (Society for Lotharingian History, Metz, G. Scriba, 1906, pp. xcv, 534); H. Hoogeweg, *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, IV., 1310–1340 [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, XXII.] (Hannover, Hahn, 1906); *Die Chroniken der Schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg* [Chroniken der deutschen Städte, vol. XXIX.] (Leipzig, S. Hirzels, 1906, pp. vii, 110); O. Heinemann, *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, VI. 1, 1321–1324 [pub. by the state archives at Stettin] (Stettin, Nieckammer, 1906, pp. 248); A. Chroust, *Der Ausgang der Regierung Rudolfs II. und die Anfänge des Kaisers Matthias: Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des 30-jährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des vorwaltenden Einflusses der Wittelsbacher*, X. (Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Munich, M. Rieger, 1906, pp. xxii, 904); K. Rauch, *Traktat über den Reichstag im 16. Jahrhundert* [Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reichs im Mittelalter und Neuzeit] (Weimar, Boehlau, 1905, pp. viii, 122).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. von Schwind, *Kritische Studien zur Lex Baiuvariorum*, I. (Neues Archiv, XXXI. 2); A. Hessel, *Beiträge zu Bologneser Geschichtsquellen* (Neues Archiv, XXXI. 1 and 2); M. Brosch, *Ein Krieg mit dem Papsttum im 14. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, July); E. Baasch, *Zur Geschichte des Hamburgischen Heringshandels* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1906, 1); T. Kiesselbach, *Der Ursprung der Rôles d'Oléron und des Seerechts von Damme* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1906, 1); P. Kalkoff, *Die Beziehungen der Hohenzollern zur Kurie unter dem Einfluss der Lutherischen Frage* [with documents] (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); F. W. Maitland, *The Making of the German Civil Code* (Independent Review, August); O. Hintze, *Die Epochen des Evangelischen Kirchenregiments in Preussen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 1); M. Ritter, *Der Untergang Wallensteins*. (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 2); A. Dove, *Leider noch einmal die Histoire de mon Temps: Eine Entgegnung* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 2); F. Meinecke, *Preussen und Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Miss J. W. A. Naber of Amsterdam has won the prize offered by the Teyler Society of Haarlem for a History of the Netherlands during the period of annexation to France, based upon documents in the State Archives at The Hague and in the National Archives at Paris. Her study appears in the *Verhandelingen* of the Teyler Society, n. s., VI., under the title *Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Inlijving bij Frankrijk* (Haarlem, Bohn, 1905, pp. 418).

The quinquennial prize for national Belgian history has been awarded for the period 1901-1905 to Professor Léon Vanderkindere of the University of Brussels for his book, *La Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen Age* (Brussels, Lamertin, vols. I. and II.).

Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's work on the Belgian Revolution of 1830, *De Belgische Omwenteling* (The Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 211), is drawn largely from unpublished sources, notably those in English archives.

Documentary publications: G. Espinas and H. Pirenne, *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Industrie Drapière en Flandre*, vol. I. [Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique] (Brussels, P. Imbreghts, 1906, pp. xx, 694); Marcus Van Vaernewijck, *Troubles en Flandre au XVI^e Siècle*, trans. by H. Van Duyse, pub. by M. de Smet de Nayer (Ghent, N. Heins, 1906, vol. II., pp. 618, 25 plates, 290 engravings); F. J. Vanden Branden, *De Spaansche Furie* [documents] (*Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 1906, XXIII. 353-471); F. J. L. Krämer, *Journalen van den Stadhouder Willem II. uit de Jaren 1641-1650* (*Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 1906, XXVII.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Maere, *Les Origines de la Nonciature de Flandre: Étude sur la Diplomatie Pontificale dans les Pays-Bas à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Kulturgeschichte Schwedens by Oscar Montelius begins with the oldest times and comes down to the eleventh century of the Christian era (Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1906, pp. ii, 336).

Professor P. Fahlbeck of the University of Lund has written a handbook on *La Constitution Suédoise et le Parlementarisme Moderne* (Paris, Picard, 1905, pp. 349), which includes the text of the constitution of 1809 with the alterations up to 1904.

The first volume of a *Geschichte von Livland* (1906, pp. xi, 294) by E. Seraphim has been issued in the series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes). The volume deals with the medieval history of Livonia and the period of the Reformation to 1582.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Of the three guides to the materials for American history in foreign archives now in course of preparation by the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution, that of Mr. L. M. Pérez on the Cuban archives is now practically ready for the press. That of Professor Shepherd on Simancas, Seville and the Archivo Historico Nacional is in an advanced state. That of Professor C. M. Andrews on the London archives for the period before 1783 approaches completion. During the summer Miss Frances Davenport has been supplementing Mr. Andrews's materials on the Public Record Office and the British Museum by similar treatment of minor repositories, such as the archives of the House of Lords, of the province of Westminster, Lambeth, Fulham, etc. Professor William H. Allison has made considerable progress toward the proposed inventory of the materials for American religious history preserved in the archives of religious denominations, missionary societies and theological seminaries.

Congress has made provision for a new edition of Poore's *Charters, Constitutions, and Organic Laws*. It will be edited by Dr. Francis N. Thorpe and Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh.

A group of private benefactors has established, at Madison, Wisconsin, the American Bureau of Industrial Research, of which Professor Richard T. Ely is the principal director. The Bureau has in preparation and will publish at intervals within the next two years a large collection of fresh documentary material for the history of American industrial society. Volume I., edited by Dr. U. B. Phillips, will be devoted to the South and the early West—the plantation and frontier types of industrial society. Vol. II. will treat of the Northern development of towns and farming. Vols. III., IV. and V., edited by Dr. J. R. Commons, assisted by Miss Helen Sumner and Mr. J. B. Andrews, will present a great mass of material on trade-unions and the labor movement, from 1800 to 1880; and vol. VI., by the same editors, will present the documents for certain important cases at law where trade-unionists have been tried for conspiracy. Each volume will contain a prefatory essay of some fifty pages, followed by some five hundred pages of documents. The material is mostly from unique sources, gathered by the staff of the Bureau by personal research throughout the United States. A later work of the Bureau will be a history of American industrial society, for the writing of which the present collecting and printing of documents is a preliminary. The documentary volumes will be sold at the cost of printing and binding. The Bureau will be grateful to any persons who may add to the value of its work by calling to its attention any material suitable to its purpose which may have escaped the notice of its staff.

The Bibliographical Society of America has in preparation a bibliographical list of incunabula in America that are contained in libraries and private collections.

Houghton, Mifflin, and Company announce a standard library edition of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, reprinted from the original plates in twelve volumes of convenient size, and sold only by subscription. Volume I. will appear in December.

In *The Consular Service of the United States* (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, no. 18), Chester L. Jones deals with his subject under the following heads: Legislative History, Organization, Rights and Duties of Consuls, Extra-territoriality, Consular Assistance to the Foreign Trade of the United States, European Consular Systems, and Suggestions for the Improvement of the Service.

Les Messages Présidentiels en France et aux États-Unis is the subject of a doctoral thesis by A. Marcaggi (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1906, pp. xii, 185).

The third volume of Mr. Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* was issued early in the summer. It contains titles 6624 to 9890, and covers the years 1751 to 1764.

Mr. Charles T. Harbeck of New York will issue this fall a privately printed edition of 350 copies of a "Bibliography of the History of the United States Navy." In the preparation of the work he has been assisted by Miss Agnes C. Doyle of the Boston Public Library, and Mr. Axel Mothe of the New York Public Library. Mr. Harbeck's own collection forms the basis of the bibliography, which will contain about 3,000 titles.

Of bibliographical interest is a reprint from the *German-American Annals* (volume IV., no. 5), just received: *Deutsch-Amerikanisches in der New York Public Library*, by Richard E. Helbig; being an account of the progress of that institution's German-American collection during 1904-1905. It is the aim of the library to collect everything that will serve as material for the study and history of the German element in the United States, including manuscripts, scrap-books, files of German-American newspapers and periodicals, portraits, photographs, and all kinds of illustrations.

In his work on *The French Blood in America* (Revell, pp. 448) Mr. L. F. Fosdick traces the rise of religious reform in France, French colonization in North America and the influence of the inhabitants of French descent upon the historical development of the country.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

An illustrated holiday edition, limited to 1,000 copies, of Franklin's *Autobiography* is planned by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

Franklin as a Man of Science and Inventor, by Edwin J. Houston, has been reprinted from the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* for April-May (140 pp.).

The *Year Book* of the Pennsylvania Society for 1906, edited by Barr Ferree, contains, besides the usual features, much material relating to Franklin. Addresses by Professor Albert H. Smyth and others bearing on various aspects of Franklin's life are given, together with a number of prints, facsimiles, and other relevant material.

Messrs. Scribner have just published a reprint of the journals of Richard Smith, a member of the Continental Congress, entitled *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware, in 1769*. The editing is by Francis W. Halsey.

The third publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints (Providence, R. I.) is Philip Freneau's poem *The American Village*, in facsimile of the original New York edition of 1772. An introduction by Harry L. Koopman and bibliographical data by Victor H. Paltsits are provided. The edition is, as usual, limited to one hundred copies.

An important addition to the well-known "Heroes of the Nations Series" (Putnam), is Professor J. A. Harrison's *George Washington, Patriot, Soldier, Statesman, First President of the United States*, which will receive further attention in a later issue.

John Witherspoon, by David W. Woods (Revell), is a readable biography, bearing closely on the history of the Revolution. Witherspoon was president of Princeton from 1768 to 1794. As a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence he was active in public affairs. His life was also notable in the history of the Presbyterian church in America.

The greater part of the Lafayette collection, sold for the present marquis by Sotheby in London on December 9, 1905, and July 3, 1906, was purchased by Mr. W. V. Lidgerwood of New York. The thirty-five lots which he secured include twenty letters from Lafayette, one from John Adams, ten from J. Q. Adams, seven from Henry Clay, one from Jackson, five from Jefferson, four from Madison, and ten from Monroe. Most of the letters contain important references to the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and other events in American history.

The original schedules of the first federal census (1790) are to be published by the Census Bureau. They fill twenty-seven volumes of manuscript, and relate only to population. Their value for local history is considerable, in view of the enumerators' process of gathering information family by family. Unfortunately the schedules for New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia are missing.

A new history of the War of 1812 has been published by the Oxford University Press: *The Canadian War of 1812*, by C. P. Lucas. The work has been based, so far as possible, on original sources; it includes six contemporary American maps from the Colonial Office library.

The sixth volume of McMaster's *History of the People of the United*

States is announced for fall publication (Appleton). It will continue the narrative to 1842.

Volume XIII. of the *History of North America*, edited by Francis N. Thorpe (Philadelphia, Barrie), has appeared: *The Growth of the Nation, 1837-1860*, by E. W. Sikes and W. M. Keener.

Recollections of Thirteen Presidents, by John S. Wise (Doubleday, Page, and Company), is interesting autobiographically, as well as for the rather intimate views presented of some of the characters dealt with. The list of presidents begins with Tyler and includes Jefferson Davis, the chapter on whom, written from a sympathetic point of view, is probably the best in the book.

A revised and supplemented edition of G. T. Ritchie's *List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress* has been issued by the Library of Congress.

A bibliography of Lincolniana including about 1,200 titles, together with the auction price of each one, is to be published by William H. Smith, Jr., of New York.

Field-marshal Viscount Wolseley's tribute to General Robert E. Lee, which appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for March, 1887, has been published by G. P. Humphrey of Rochester, in a pocket edition of 300 copies.

Under the title *Morgan's Cavalry* has been republished (Neale) Basil N. Duke's *History of Morgan's Cavalry*, which appeared in 1867.

The Army of the Potomac from 1861 to 1863, by Samuel L. French (Publishing Society of New York), purports to set forth "an absolutely unbiassed and correct judgment concerning the various commanders". The volume consists largely of extracts from documentary material, which the author uses in such a way as effectually to thwart the purpose stated above.

From Bull Run to Chancellorsville, by General N. M. Curtis (Putnam's), is mainly a sketch of the part taken by the Sixteenth New York Infantry during the period indicated.

The fifth volume of *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts* (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company) bears the subtitle: Petersburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg. Of especial interest is the series of papers on the events between Grant's repulse at Cold Harbor and the failure to take Petersburg.

One of the best of recent regimental histories is George A. Bruce's *The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865* (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company). This organization, sometimes known as the "Harvard Regiment", was a part of the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Among the engagements to which particular attention is devoted are Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks, the Seven Days' battles, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, and Spottsylvania. The narrative is full of valuable sidelights.

Under the title *Confederate Operations in Canada and New York* (Neale) Captain John W. Headley gives a detailed account of the Confederate efforts to harass the North, particularly the incendiary attempt on New York, of November 25, 1864, in which the author took part. There is also some account of the writer's service in Kentucky and Tennessee earlier in the war.

The Library of Congress has published a *List of Discussions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with Special Reference to Negro Suffrage*, compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, the Chief Bibliographer.

Twenty Years in the Press Gallery (New York, Publishers' Printing Company), by O. O. Stealey, is an account of public events and character as seen by the author during the decades in which he was the Washington correspondent of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. The first part of the book contains intimate views of Washington life, public and private, and a sketch of the legislation passed in the period under review. The second part consists of character-sketches of some twenty-seven public men, written by various colleagues of Mr. Stealey.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

An interesting document is printed in the July issue of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*: "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia made in 1731 by Robert Hale of Beverly". The original manuscript is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

We note the following contributions to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July: a biographical sketch of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., by Henry H. Edes; "Extracts from the Journal of Constantine Hardy in the Crown Point Expedition of 1759", communicated by Charles A. Flagg; and an article, by Honorable George Sheldon, on "The Conference at Deerfield, Mass., August 27-31, 1735, between Gov. Belcher and Several Tribes of Western Indians", which includes extracts from a diary kept by a member of the governor's council.

History of the Town of Lyndeborough, 1735-1905, in two volumes, prepared by Rev. D. Donovan and Jacob A. Woodward, has been published by the town.

A valuable bit of Vermontana is again made generally accessible by the reprinting of "Zadock Steele's Narrative" of the burning of Royalton, Vermont, by Indians (Boston, H. M. Upham). The editor, Miss Ivali Dunklee, has included in the volume, in addition to the reprint, a considerable amount of other material bearing on the history of Royalton.

Mr. Robert T. Swan's eighteenth report as Commissioner of Public Records (Massachusetts) contains, among other matters, a discussion of the relative merits of vaults and safes as regards protection

against fire, and a valuable chapter of "Don'ts" which could well be read by all custodians of records.

Volume VIII. of the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, bringing the record down to the autumn of 1904, and a fascicle of the next volume bringing it to date, will be issued this month. Volumes II. and IV. are in progress. The Society also has in hand a volume containing a check-list of the Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1780.

The Essex Institute has published the first volume of *The Diary of William Bentley, D. D.* Bentley was the pastor of the East Church of Salem, and his diary is among the manuscripts of the American Antiquarian Society. This first volume runs from April, 1784, to December, 1792. Its value as a source of local history is unusual. A brief biographical sketch by the late Judge Joseph G. Waters serves as a preface.

The Medford (Massachusetts) Historical Society has published the *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Settlement of Medford.* A history of the town, by John H. Hooper, serves as a preface.

Two volumes dealing with the history of the Connecticut valley have appeared this summer: *Historic Towns of the Connecticut River Valley*, by George S. Roberts (Schenectady, N. Y., Robson and Adee), and Edwin M. Bacon's *The Connecticut River and the Valley of the Connecticut* (Putnam, "Historic Rivers Series").

Three volumes have been added to the Grafton Historical Series, edited by Dr. Henry M. Stiles (Grafton Press): *In Olde Connecticut* (second edition), by Charles B. Todd; *Historical Hadley*, by Alice M. Walker; and *King Philip's War*, by George W. Ellis and John E. Morris.

From the contents of the *Connecticut Magazine* for April-June we note the following contributions as having historical interest: "Last Years of Connecticut under the British Crown", by Benjamin P. Adams; "Journal of Sir Peter Pond", printed from an old manuscript and dealing with his experiences among the Indians and in the fur-trade during the latter half of the eighteenth century; "Influence of Ecclesiastical Doctrines on Government in the United States", by Joel N. Eno; "The Development of Steam Navigation—First Steamboat on the Connecticut River", by C. Seymour Bullock; and "Peter Morton—An Early American Merchant and Importer", by Dr. Everett J. McKnight.

Bulletin 100, Legislation 26, of the New York State Library is devoted to an *Index of New York Governors' Messages, 1777-1901*, prepared by Malcolm G. Wyer and Charlotte E. Groves.

The Story of Joncaire, his Life and Times on the Niagara, by Frank H. Severance (privately printed), constitutes a "portion of an extended study, as yet unpublished, of the operations of the French on the lower

lakes, with especial reference to the history of the Niagara region".

The Department of History appointed by Governor Pennypacker and the Jamestown Exposition Commission of Pennsylvania, as already noted, has been actively at work during the summer in preparing for the exhibit. The work is under the direction of Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Albert C. Myers, and has comprised much search in the records of the state and of its southeastern counties. Much material illustrative of the industrial and domestic life of the early settlers will be exhibited. Of especial interest to historians will be the series of historical maps—wall-maps, on a large scale, illustrating the extent of population at intervals of about twenty years. In their construction the frontier has been accurately determined, by means of land-warrants, surveys, patents, tax-lists, court records, and personal records, and the racial composition of the population has been designated. There will also be special maps showing such economic and social features as roads, mills, and churches.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July is by F. B. Sanborn: "The 'American Farmer', St. John de Crèvecoeur, and his Famous Letters (1755-1813)". Among the documents published in the issue we note "Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, Pastor of 'Gloria Dei' Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, 1702-1719", another installment (July 1 to November 29, 1794) of Washington's Household Account Book, 1793-1797, a long letter from General Greene to Washington, dated September 11, 1781, from "Head Quarters Martins Tavern Near Ferguson's Swamp South Carolina", containing his account of the battle of Eutaw Springs, and a list, by Albert J. Edmunds, of the first books imported in 1732, by the Library Company of Philadelphia. In the list of accessions to the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, during 1905, we note the papers of Naval Constructor Joshua Humphreys, the Charles Godfrey Leland papers, and a large quantity of miscellaneous titles.

Volume IX. (1905) of the *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*, edited by H. E. Hayden, contains in addition to articles of geological and ethnological interest, "Pioneer Physicians of the Wyoming Valley, 1771-1825", by F. C. Johnson; "The Early Bibliography of Pennsylvania", by Samuel W. Pennypacker; and "The Expedition of Colonel Thomas Hartley against the Indians in 1778 to Avenge the Massacre of Wyoming", by Rev. David Craft.

The June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains, aside from continuations, the first installment of the "Letters and Diary of Father Joseph Mosley, S. J.", covering the years 1757-1786, when he was a missionary in Maryland. The documents are from the Shea Collection in Georgetown College, and are edited by Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S. J.

Dixie after the War, by Mrs. M. L. Avary (Doubleday, Page, and Company), is "an exposition of social conditions existing in the South during the twelve years succeeding the fall of Richmond".

In the July issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is commenced a most important documentary publication: "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Session, 1737-1763". The original journals in the Virginia State Library, from which this publication is made, vary greatly in character, from rough minutes to full and fair records; there are also many gaps. Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers", in the same issue, are printed documents bearing on the treaty concluded between Virginia and the Indians at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburg), in June, 1775, together with the minutes of the treaty, beginning on June 19.

The Appomattox Surrender House Association, of which Mrs. C. W. Dunlap of Washington is secretary, has been formed with a view to the permanent preservation of the McLean farmhouse, at Appomattox, Virginia, in which the surrender of General Lee took place.

Recollections of a Lifetime, by John Goode of Virginia (Neale) adds another to the list of recent autobiographical works by southerners. Mr. Goode was a member of the secession convention of Virginia, and of the Confederate Congress throughout the war, and later served several terms in the United States Congress.

Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, director of the State Department of Archives and History of West Virginia, has published a statement showing the results of the first year's work of his department, pointing out the possibilities for historical research in West Virginia, and making a plea for the donation to the department of all kinds of material bearing on any phase of the state's history. The department is installed in commodious quarters in the Capitol Annex Building, and has arranged to excellent advantage its already large collection (inherited in part from the old Historical Society). Its collection of Virginiana is large.

The latest issue of *The John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College* (volume II., no. 2; June 1906), edited by Professor William E. Dodd, contains two contributions. The first of these (pp. 4-77) is a biographical sketch of R. M. T. Hunter, by D. R. Anderson, the first attempt as yet (Martha T. Hunter's *Memoir* bears mainly on Hunter's private and early life) at a study of the public life of that Confederate leader. The second contribution (pp. 78-183) bears the heading "Virginia Opposition to Chief Justice Marshall", and is made up of five letters, reprinted from the *Richmond Enquirer* of May and June, 1821, by "Algernon Sidney" (Spencer Roane), on the so-called "Lottery Decision", given by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Cohen vs. the State of Virginia*. These letters, bitter in their attack on Marshall, constitute, as the editor notes, a "commentary on the national constitution in matters touching the relative rights of the

States and of the Union". They were discussed freely in contemporary newspapers, north and south, and were generally understood to represent the views of the Virginia Supreme Court as well as those of the Virginia democracy.

We have received *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in North Carolina and Tennessee*, by Marshall De Lancey Haywood (Raleigh, 1906). This pamphlet, based on much original investigation, throws interesting light on many well-known colonial and revolutionary characters. We note particularly short biographical sketches of John Hammerton, Thomas Cooper, Joseph Montfort, James Milner, Cornelius Harnett, and William Brinage, and, as a frontispiece, an excellent portrait of Governor Samuel Johnston.

In the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for July are five more letters from Lafayette to Henry Laurens, all of January, 1778. They treat of various matters, uniforms and insignia of rank, gentlemen volunteers from France, his dislike for Conway, etc. In this issue are also the first installment of "An Order Book of the 1st Regt., S. C. Line, Continental Establishment", commencing December 25, 1777, and a continuation of Mr. Salley's "Calhoun Family of South Carolina", including brief biographical notices of John Ewing Colhoun, Patrick Calhoun, and John C. Calhoun.

The Making of South Carolina, by Henry A. White, has been added to the "Stories of the States" series (Silver, Burdett, and Company).

Part four of volume III. of the *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society* is called a "Gayarré Memorial Number". Its contents relate mainly to the work of that historian.

Mr. William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library has printed a little pamphlet under the title *Contributions to Louisiana History*. It consists of comments on five volumes, old and new, containing material that bears on Louisiana.

A series of reprints to be known as the *Old North-West Leaflets* has been begun under the auspices of the Chicago History Teachers' Association, by a board of publication composed of Edwin E. Sparks, James A. James, and Charles W. Mann. "The material selected for reprinting in these leaflets bears upon the history of the Middle West, is descriptive rather than documentary, and follows the chronological order of exploration and settlement." Numbers 1 and 2 have been published, both taken from the Jesuit Relations: *The Last Two Journeys of Father Marquette*, edited by Edwin E. Sparks; and *Manners and Customs of the Western Indians*, edited by Charles W. Mann.

The "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* for July contains the first part of an autobiography of Ex-governor Allen Trimble, found among his papers, and the conclusion of the biographical sketch of Governor Jeremiah Morrow.

The principal articles in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for July are three appreciations: "Stanton—the Patriot", an address delivered at Kenyon College by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, on April 26; "Salmon P. Chase", the substance of an address by Senator Joseph B. Foraker before the United States Circuit Court at Springfield, Illinois, October 7, 1905; and "General George A. Custer", by Judge Richard M. Voorhees.

An attractive little volume of interest in local history is *The History of St. Andrew's Church*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, by Professor Arthur Lyon Cross (Ann Arbor, Wahr, 1906). The book covers in an entertaining way something like seventy-four years of parish history, and gives an excellent example of the way in which the churches of the West were founded and how they have prospered.

Among the contributions to the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for June are "George W. Julian: Some Impressions", by Mrs. Grace J. Clarke; "Early Indianapolis" (a second installment from the Fletcher papers); "Early Schools of Indiana" (a second installment from the D. D. Banta papers); and "River Navigation in Indiana", by George S. Cottman. In the editorial department is to be found some information respecting local historical societies in Indiana.

In the last session of the Kentucky legislature an act was passed providing an annual appropriation of \$5,000 for the support of the Kentucky State Historical Society, which is made the trustee of the state. Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, editor of the society's publication, the *Register*, has been appointed secretary-treasurer, and Miss Jackson has been made librarian. The society will have ample accommodations in the new capitol upon its completion, and will take active measures to collect and preserve the public records and other material of historical value.

Landmarks in Wisconsin is the title of Bulletin of Information No. 30 (June) of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July is devoted to a journal kept by Robert Lucas during the War of 1812. At the outbreak of the war Lucas was a brigadier-general in the Ohio militia, but shortly afterward received a commission as captain in the regular army. Receiving no orders as captain, however, he enlisted as a private in one of the volunteer companies that he was instrumental in raising from the Ohio militia. The *Journal*, therefore, is the narrative of a private soldier. It opens on April 25, 1812, and records the details of the Hull campaign and the return of the Ohio volunteers after the surrender. Portions of the *Journal* have previously been used, notably in the report by Lewis Cass on Hull's campaign. The *Journal* is edited by John C. Parish, who provides a model introduction, including an enlightening map, and appends certain letters found among the Lucas papers which throw additional light on various points in the campaign.

We note the following contributions in the *Annals of Iowa* for July: "William F. Coolbaugh", by J. T. Remy; "Biographical Memoir of Charles Christopher Parry", with bibliography, by Charles A. White; "Iowa under Territorial Governments and the Removal of the Indians", by Colonel Alonzo Abernethy; and "Whence came the Pioneers of Iowa", concluded, by F. I. Herriott.

Mr. George W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, has published in a small pamphlet, *The Flag of Kansas*, an account of the visit of Zebulon M. Pike to the Pawnee village, on September 29, 1806, and of his lowering the Spanish flag which he found there and raising the flag of the United States. In commemoration of the event a celebration was held in Republic City (Kansas) on September 26-29.

The *University of Colorado Studies* for June (vol. III., no. 3) contains a useful contribution by Professor F. L. Paxson: "A Preliminary Bibliography of Colorado History".

The first publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1905, lacks any specific title. It is an eighty-five-page pamphlet, devoted to the origin, work, and accessions of the society, and includes an article by Honorable Sidney Clarke on the "Opening of Oklahoma".

Bulletin 32 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is devoted to an account by Edgar L. Hewett of the *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico*. It is the first of a series, planned by the Bureau, that will treat of the antiquities of the public domain.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for June contains, besides continuations, "The Genesis of the Oregon Railway System", by Joseph Gaston; "A Brief History of the Establishment and Location of the University of Oregon at Eugene", by J. J. Walton; and, as documentary material, "A Reminiscence of the Indian War, 1853," written in 1879 by James W. Nesmith. Among the recent manuscript accessions of the society should be noted a collection of about three hundred military papers bearing on the Indian War of 1855-1856.

A bibliography of writings on the *American Occupation of the Philippines*, 1898-1903, has been compiled and issued by the Library of Congress.

It is announced that the War Department is to publish a limited edition of the collection of documents known as the "Philippine insurgent records". These documents, which were captured, cover the period of the insurrection against Spain, as well as of that against the United States. Their translation and preparation for publication has been going on for the last three years, under the direction of Captain John R. M. Taylor, U. S. A.

One of the most intimate studies of the Philippines, since the American occupation, is to be found in *The Philippine Experiences of*

an *American Teacher* (Scribner's Sons). The author, William B. Freer, was stationed first in central, and later in southern Luzon, but also made visits to the southern islands. The book is especially valuable for the near views that it gives of the everyday life of the islanders, their manners and customs, and their personal characteristics.

A brief account of *The Earliest Historical Relations between Mexico and Japan*, by Zelia Nuttall, based on "original documents preserved in Spain and Japan", is issued as no. 1 of volume IV. of the "University of California Publications; American Archaeology and Ethnology".

We note *The Republic of Colombia*, by F. L. Petre (London, Stanford), dealing with the administrative, economic, and social conditions, and potential development of that country.

Pizarro and the Conquest of Peru, by Frederick A. Ober, is a recent addition to the Harper series, "Heroes of American History". The first volume of Mr. Ober's *Columbus the Discoverer*, in the same series, has also appeared.

From the fall announcements, not elsewhere noted in these pages, we select the following: Century Company: *Lincoln the Lawyer*, by Frederick T. Hill; *Addresses of John Hay*, Harper and Brothers; *The Americanisms of Washington*, by Henry van Dyke; Houghton, Mifflin, and Company: *Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington*, by Arria S. Huntington; *The Practice of Diplomacy*, by John W. Foster; Little, Brown, and Company: *A Handbook of Polar Discoveries*, rewritten, by General A. W. Greeley; G. P. Putnam's Sons: *The Ohio River*, by Archer B. Hulbert; *The Story of Old Fort Johnson*, by W. M. Reid; *Gettysburg and Lincoln*, by H. S. Burrage; *The Union Cause in Kentucky*, by Thomas Speed; Charles Scribner's Sons: *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*, edited by Gaillard Hunt.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Addington Bruce, *New Light on the Mecklenburg Declaration* (North American Review, July); Worthington C. Ford, *One of Franklin's Friendships* (Harper's, September); H. B. Learned, *The Origin and Creation of the President's Cabinet, 1781-1793* [Studies in the History of the American Cabinet, I.] (Yale Review, August); Gaillard Hunt, editor, *Washington in Jefferson's Time*, I., from the diaries and family letters of Margaret Bayard Smith (Scribner's, September); C. K. Wead, *The Portraits of St. Mémín* (Appleton's, July); Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (running in McClure's); E. D. Fite, *The Canal and the Railroad from 1861 to 1865* (Yale Review, August); W. L. Fleming, *The Freedmen's Savings Bank*, II. (Yale Review, August); "Nicholas North", *The Autobiography of a Southerner since the Civil War* (running in the Atlantic Monthly); Gerhardt Bradt, *Modoc War Reminiscences* (Metropolitan, July).